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ART. I. *Reliques of Robert Burns, consisting chiefly of Original Letters, Poems, and Critical Observations on Scotish Songs.* Collected and published by R. H. Cromek. 8vo. pp. 450. London. 1808.

BURNS is certainly by far the greatest of our poetical prodigies—from Stephen Duck down to Thomas Dermody. *They* are forgotten already; or only remembered for derision. But the name of Burns, if we are not mistaken, has not yet 'gathered all its fame;' and will endure long after those circumstances are forgotten which contributed to its first notoriety. So much indeed are we impressed with a sense of his merits, that we cannot help thinking it a derogation from them to consider him as a prodigy at all; and are convinced that he will never be rightly estimated as a poet, till that vulgar wonder be entirely repressed which was raised on his having been a ploughman. It is true, no doubt, that he was born in an humble station, and that much of his early life was devoted to severe labour, and to the society of his fellow-labourers. But he was not himself either uneducated or illiterate; and was placed perhaps in a situation more favourable to the development of great poetical talents, than any other which could have been assigned him. He was taught, at a very early age, to read and write; and soon after acquired a competent knowledge of French, together with the elements of Latin and Geometry. His taste for reading was encouraged by his parents and many of his associates; and, before he had ever composed a single stanza, he was not only familiar with many prose writers, but far more intimately acquainted with Pope, Shakespeare and Thomson, than nine tenths of the youth that leave school for the university. These authors, indeed, with some old collections of songs, and the lives of Hannibal and of Sir William

liam Wallace, were his habitual study from the first days of his childhood; and, cooperating with the solitude of his rural occupations, were sufficient to rouse his ardent and ambitious mind to the love and the practice of poetry. He had as much scholarship, we imagine, as Shakespeare, and far better models to form his ear to harmony, and train his fancy to graceful invention.

We ventured, on a former occasion, * to say something of the effects of regular education, and of the general diffusion of literature, in repressing the vigour and originality of all kinds of mental exertion. That speculation was perhaps carried somewhat too far; but if the paradox have proof any where, it is in its application to poetry. Among well educated people, the standard writers of this description are at once so venerated and so familiar, that it is thought equally impossible to rival them, and to write verses without attemping it. If there be one degree of fame which excites emulation, there is another which leads to despair; nor can we conceive any one less likely to add one to the short list of original poets, than a young man of fine fancy and delicate taste, who has acquired a high relish for poetry, by perusing the most celebrated writers, and conversing with the most intelligent judges. The head of such a person is filled, of course, with all the splendid passages of antient and modern authors, and with the fine and fastidious remarks which have been made even on these passages. When he turns his eyes, therefore, on his own conceptions, they can scarcely fail to appear rude and contemptible. He is perpetually haunted and depressed by the ideal presence of those great masters and their exacting critics. He is aware to what comparisons his productions will be subjected among his own friends and associates; and recollects the derision with which so many rash adventurers have been chased back to their obscurity. Thus, the merit of his great predecessors chills, instead of encouraging his ardour; and the illustrious names which have already reached to the summit of excellence, act like the tall and spreading trees of the forest, which overshadow and strangle the saplings which have struck root in the soil below,—and afford shelter to nothing but creepers and parasites.

There is, no doubt, in some few individuals, 'that strong divinity of soul,'—that decided and irresistible vocation to glory, which, in spite of all these obstructions, calls out, perhaps, once or twice in a century, a bold and original poet from the herd of scholars and academical literati. But the natural tendency of their studies, and by far the most common operation, is to repress

* Vol. VIII. p. 329.

press originality, and discourage enterprize; and either to change those whom nature meant for poets, into mere readers of poetry, or to bring them out in the form of witty parodists, or ingenious imitators. Independent of the reasons which have been already suggested, it will perhaps be found too, that necessity is the mother of invention in this as well as in the more vulgar arts; or, at least, that inventive genius will frequently slumber in inaction, where preceding ingenuity has in part supplied the wants of the owner. A solitary and uninstructed man, with lively feelings and an inflammable imagination, will be easily led to exercise those gifts, and to occupy and relieve his mind in poetical composition; but if his education, his reading and his society supply him with an abundant store of images and emotions, he will probably think but little of these internal resources, and feed his mind contentedly with what has been provided by the industry of others.

To say nothing, therefore, of the distractions and the dissipation of mind that belong to the commerce of the world, nor of the cares of minute accuracy and high finishing which are imposed on the professed scholar, there seem to be deeper reasons for the separation of originality and accomplishment; and for the partiality which has led poetry to choose almost all her favourites among the recluse and uninstructed. A youth of quick parts, in short, and creative fancy,—with just so much reading as to guide his ambition, and rough hew his notions of excellence,—if his lot be thrown in humble retirement, where he has no reputation to lose, and where he can easily hope to excel all that he sees around him, is much more likely, we think, to give himself up to poetry, and to train himself to habits of invention, than if he had been encumbered by the pretended helps of extended study and literary society.

If these observations should fail to strike of themselves, they may perhaps derive additional weight from considering the very remarkable fact, that almost all the great poets of every country have appeared in an early stage of their history, and in a period comparatively rude and unlettered. Homer went forth like the morning star before the dawn of literature in Greece; and almost all the great and sublime poets of modern Europe are already between two and three hundred years old. Since that time, although books and readers, and opportunities of reading, are multiplied a thousand fold, we have improved chiefly in point and terseness of expression, in the art of raillery, and in clearness and simplicity of thought. Force, richness and variety of invention, are now at least as rare as ever. But the literature and refinement of the age does not exist at all for a rustic and illiterate

individual; and, consequently, the present time is to him what the rude times of old were to the vigorous writers which adorned them.

But though, for these and for other reasons, we can see no propriety in regarding the poetry of Burns chiefly as the wonderful work of a peasant, and thus admiring it much in the same way as if it had been written with his toes; yet there are peculiarities in his works which remind us of the lowness of his origin, and faults for which the defects of his education afford an obvious cause, if not a legitimate apology. In forming a correct estimate of these works, it is necessary to take into account those peculiarities.

The first is, the undisciplined harshness and acrimony of his invective. The great boast of polished life is the delicacy, and even the generosity of its hostility,—that quality which is still the characteristic as it is the denomination of a gentleman,—that principle which forbids us to attack the defenceless, to strike the fallen, or to mangle the slain,—and enjoins us, in forging the shafts of satire, to increase the polish exactly as we add to their keenness or their weight. For this, as well as for other things, we are indebted to chivalry; and of this Burns had none. His ingenious and amiable biographer has spoken repeatedly in praise of his talents for satire,—we think, with a most unhappy partiality. His epigrams and lampoons appear to us, one and all, unworthy of him;—offensive from their extreme coarseness and violence,—and contemptible from their want of wit or brilliancy. They seem to have been written, not out of playful malice or virtuous indignation, but out of fierce and ungovernable anger. His whole raillery consists in railing; and his satirical vein displays itself chiefly in calling names and in swearing. We say this mainly with a reference to his personalities. In many of his more general representations of life and manners, there is no doubt much that may be called satirical, mixed up with admirable humour, and description of inimitable vivacity.

There is a similar want of polish, or at least of respectfulness, in the general tone of his gallantry. He has written with more passion, perhaps, and more variety of natural feeling, on the subject of love, than any other poet whatsoever,—but with a fervour that is sometimes indelicate, and seldom accommodated to the timidity and 'sweet austere composure' of women of refinement. He has expressed admirably the feelings of an enamoured peasant, who, however refined or eloquent he may be, always approaches his mistress on a footing of equality; but has never caught that tone of chivalrous gallantry which uniformly abases itself in the presence of the object of its devotion. Accordingly, instead of

suing

suing for a smile, or melting in a tear, his muse deals in nothing but locked embraces and midnight rencontres; and, even in his complimentary effusions to ladies of the highest rank, is for straining them to the bosom of her impetuous votary. It is easy, accordingly, to see from his correspondence, that many of his female patronesses shrunk from the vehement familiarity of his admiration; and there are even some traits in the volumes before us, from which we can gather, that he resented the shyness and estrangement to which these feelings gave rise, with at least as little chivalry as he had shown in producing them.

But the leading vice in Burns's character, and the cardinal deformity indeed of all his productions, was his contempt, or affectation of contempt, for prudence, decency and regularity; and his admiration of thoughtlessness, oddity, and vehement sensibility;—his belief, in short, in *the dispensing power* of genius and social feeling, in all matters of morality and common sense. This is the very slang of the worst German plays, and the lowest of our town-made novels; nor can any thing be more lamentable, than that it should have found a patron in such a man as Burns, and communicated to a great part of his productions a character of immorality, at once contemptible and hateful. It is but too true, that men of the highest genius have frequently been hurried by their passions into a violation of prudence and duty; and there is something generous, at least, in the apology which their admirers may make for them, on the score of their keener feelings and habitual want of reflection. But this apology, which is quite unsatisfactory in the mouth of another, becomes an insult and an absurdity whenever it proceeds from their own. A man may say of his friend, that he is a noble-hearted fellow,—too generous to be just, and with too much spirit to be always prudent and regular. But he cannot be allowed to say even this of himself; and still less to represent himself as a hairbrained sentimental soul, constantly carried away by fine fancies and visions of love and philanthropy, and born to confound and despise the cold-blooded sons of prudence and sobriety. This apology evidently destroys itself; for it shows that conduct to be the result of deliberate system, which it affects at the same time to justify as the fruit of mere thoughtlessness and casual impulse. Such protestations, therefore, will always be treated, as they deserve, not only with contempt, but with incredulity; and their magnanimous authors set down as determined profligates, who seek to disguise their selfishness under a name somewhat less revolting. That profligacy is almost always selfishness, and that the excuse of impetuous feeling can hardly ever be justly pleaded for those who neglect the ordinary duties of life, must be apparent, we think, even to the least reflecting of those sons of fancy and song.

It requires no habit of deep thinking, nor any thing more, indeed, than the information of an honest heart, to perceive that it is cruel and base to spend, in vain superfluities, that money which belongs of right to the pale industrious tradesman and his famishing infants; or that it is a vile prostitution of language, to talk of that man's generosity or goodness of heart, who sits raving about friendship and philanthropy in a tavern, while his wife's heart is breaking at her cheerless fireside, and his children pining in solitary poverty.

This pitiful cant of careless feeling and eccentric genius, accordingly, has never found much favour in the eyes of English sense and morality. The most signal effect which it ever produced, was on the muddy brains of some German youth, who left college in a body to rob on the highway, because Schiller had represented the captain of a gang as so very noble a creature.—But in this country, we believe, a predilection for that honourable profession must have preceded this admiration of the character. The style we have been speaking of, accordingly, is now the heroics only of the hulks and the house of correction; and has no chance, we suppose, of being greatly admired, except in the farewell speech of a young gentleman preparing for Botany Bay.

It is humiliating to think how deeply Burns has fallen into this debasing error. He is perpetually making a parade of his thoughtlessness, inflammability and imprudence, and talking with much complacency and exultation of the offence he has occasioned to the sober and correct part of mankind. This odious slang infects almost all his prose, and a very great proportion of his poetry; and is, we are persuaded, the chief, if not the only source of the disgust with which, in spite of his genius, we know that he is regarded by many very competent and liberal judges. His apology, too, we are willing to believe, is to be found in the original lowness of his situation, and the slightness of his acquaintance with the world. With his talents and powers of observation, he could not have seen *much* of the beings who echoed this raving, without feeling for them that distrust and contempt which would have made him blush to think he had ever stretched over them the protecting shield of his genius.

Akin to this most lamentable trait of vulgarity, and indeed in some measure arising out of it, is that perpetual boast of his own independence, which is obtruded upon the readers of Burns in almost every page of his writings. The sentiment itself is noble, and it is often finely expressed;—but a gentleman would only have expressed it when he was insulted or provoked; and would never have made it a spontaneous theme to those friends in whose estimation he felt that his honour stood clear. It is mixed up too in

Burns

Burns with too fierce a tone of defiance; and indicates rather the pride of a sturdy peasant, than the colour and natural elevation of a generous mind.

The last of the symptoms of rusticity which we think it necessary to notice in the works of this extraordinary man, is that frequent mistake of mere exaggeration and violence, for force and sublimity, which has defaced so much of his prose composition, and given an air of heaviness and labour to a good deal of his serious poetry. The truth is, that his *forte* was in humour and in pathos—or rather in tenderness of feeling; and that he has very seldom succeeded, either where mere wit and sprightliness, or where great energy and weight of sentiment were requisite. He had evidently a very false and crude notion of what constituted *strength* of writing; and instead of that simple and brief directness which stamps the character of vigour upon every syllable, has generally had recourse to a mere accumulation of hyperbolical expressions, which incumber the diction instead of exalting it, and show the determination to be impressive, without the power of executing it. This error also we are inclined to ascribe entirely to the defects of his education. The value of simplicity in the expression of passion, is a lesson, we believe, of nature and of genius;—but its importance in mere grave and impressive writing, is one of the latest discoveries of rhetorical experience.

With the allowances and exceptions we have now stated, we think Burns entitled to the rank of a great and original genius. He has in all his compositions great force of conception; and great spirit and animation in its expression. He has taken a large range through the region of Fancy, and naturalized himself in almost all her climates. He has great humour,—great powers of description,—great pathos,—and great discrimination of character. Almost every thing that he says has spirit and originality; and every thing that he says well, is characterized by a charming facility, which gives a grace even to occasional rudeness, and communicates to the reader a delightful sympathy with the spontaneous soaring and conscious inspiration of the poet.

Considering the reception which these works have met with from the public, and the long period during which the greater part of them have been in their possession, it may appear superfluous to say any thing as to their characteristic or peculiar merit. Though the ultimate judgment of the public, however, be always sound, or at least decisive, as to its general result, it is not always very apparent upon what grounds it has proceeded; nor in consequence of what, or in spite of what, it has been obtained. In Burns's works there is much to censure, as well as much

to praise; and as time has not yet separated his ore from its dross, it may be worth while to state, in a very general way, what we presume to anticipate as the result of this separation. Without pretending to enter at all into the comparative merit of particular passages, we may venture to lay it down as our opinion,—that his poetry is far superior to his prose; that his Scottish compositions are greatly to be preferred to his English ones; and that his Songs will probably outlive all his other productions. A very few remarks on each of these subjects will comprehend almost all that we have to say of the volumes now before us.

The prose works of Burns, consist almost entirely of his letters. They bear, as well as his poetry, the seal and the impress of his genius; but they contain much more bad taste, and are written with far more apparent labour. His poetry was almost all written primarily from feeling, and only secondarily from ambition. His letters seem to have been nearly all composed as exercises, and for display. There are few of them written with simplicity or plainness; and though natural enough as to the sentiment, they are generally very strained and elaborate in the expression. A very great proportion of them, too, relate neither to facts nor feelings peculiarly connected with the author or his correspondent, —but are made up of general declamation, moral reflections, and vague discussions,—all evidently composed for the sake of effect, and frequently introduced with long complaints of having nothing to say, and of the necessity and difficulty of letter-writing.

By far the best of these compositions, are such as we should consider as exceptions from this general character,—such as contain some specific information as to himself, or are suggested by events or observations directly applicable to his correspondent. One of the best, perhaps, is that addressed to Dr Moore, containing an account of his early life, of which Dr Currie has made such a judicious use in his Biography. It is written with great clearness and characteristic effect, and contains many touches of easy humour and natural eloquence. We are struck, as we open the book accidentally, with the following original application of a classical image by this unlettered rustic. Talking of the first vague aspirations of his own gigantic mind, he says—we think very finely—'I had felt some early stirrings of ambition; but they 'were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclop round the walls of 'his cave.' Of his other letters, those addressed to Mrs Dunlop are, in our opinion, by far the best. He appears, from first to last, to have stood somewhat in awe of this excellent lady, and to have been no less sensible of her sound judgement and strict sense of propriety, than of her steady and generous partiality. The following passage we think is striking and characteristic.

'I

'I own myself so little a Presbyterian, that I approve of set times and seasons of more than ordinary acts of devotion, for breaking in on that habituated routine of life and thought which is so apt to reduce our existence to a kind of instinct, or even sometimes, and with some minds, to a state very little superior to mere machinery.

'This day; the first Sunday of May; a breezy, blue-skyed noon, some time about the beginning, and a hoary morning and calm sunny day about the end, of autumn;—these, time out of mind, have been with me a kind of holiday.

'I believe I owe this to that glorious paper in the Spectator, "The Vision of Mirza;" a piece that struck my young fancy before I was capable of fixing an idea to a word of three syllables. "On the 5th day of the moon, which, according to the custom of my forefathers, I always *keep holy*, after having washed myself, and offered up my morning devotions, I ascended the high hill of Bagdat, in order to pass the rest of the day in meditation and prayer."

'We know nothing, or next to nothing, of the substance or structure of our souls, so cannot account for those seeming caprices in them, that one should be particularly pleased with this thing, or struck with that, which, on minds of a different cast, makes no extraordinary impression. I have some favourite flowers in spring, among which are the mountain-daisy, the hare-bell, the fox-glove, the wild brier-rose, the budding birch, and the hoary hawthorn, that I view and hang over with particular delight. I never hear the loud, solitary whistle of the curlew in a summer noon, or the wild mixing cadence of a troop of grey plover in an autumnal morning, without feeling an elevation of soul like the enthusiasm of devotion or poetry. Tell me, my dear friend, to what can this be owing? Are we a piece of machinery, which, like the Eolian harp, passive, takes the impression of the passing accident? Or do these workings argue something within us above the trodden clod?' II. p. 195—197.

To this we may add the following passage, as a part, indeed, of the same picture.

'There is scarcely any earthly object gives me more—I do not know if I should call it pleasure—but something which exalts me, something which enraptures me—than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood, or high plantation, in a cloudy winter-day, and hear the stormy wind howling among the trees, and raving over the plain. It is my best season for devotion; my mind is wrapt up in a kind of enthusiasm to *Him*, who, in the pompous language of the Hebrew bard, "walks on the wings of the wind." II. p. 11.

The following is one of the best and most striking of a whole series of eloquent hypochondriasm.

'After six weeks confinement, I am beginning to walk across the room. They have been six horrible weeks;—anguish and low spirits made me unfit to read, write, or think.

'I have a hundred times wished that one could resign life as an

officer

officer resigns a commission: for I would not *take in* any poor, ignorant wretch, by *selling out*. Lately I was a sixpenny private; and, God knows, a miserable soldier enough: now I march to the campaign, a starving cadet,—a little more conspicuously wretched.

'I am ashamed of all this; for though I do want bravery for the warfare of life, I could wish, like some other soldiers, to have as much fortitude or cunning as to dissemble or conceal my cowardice.' II. p. 127, 128.

One of the most striking letters in the collection, and, to us, one of the most interesting, is the earliest of the whole series; being addressed to his father in 1781, six or seven years before his name had been heard of out of his own family. The author was then a common flax-dresser, and his father a poor peasant;—yet there is not one trait of vulgarity, either in the thought or the expression; but, on the contrary, a dignity and elevation of sentiment, which must have been considered as of good omen in a youth of much higher condition. The letter is as follows.

'Honoured Sir,—I have purposely delayed writing, in the hope that I should have the pleasure of seeing you on New-year's-day; but work comes so hard upon us, that I do not choose to be absent on that account, as well as for some other little reasons, which I shall tell you at meeting. My health is nearly the same as when you were here, only my sleep is a little sounder, and, on the whole, I am rather better than otherwise, though I mend by very slow degrees. The weakness of my nerves has so debilitated my mind, that I dare neither review past wants, nor look forward into futurity; for the least anxiety or perturbation in my breast, produces most unhappy effects on my whole frame. Sometimes, indeed, when for an hour or two my spirits are a little lightened, I *glimmer* a little into futurity; but my principal, and indeed my only pleasurable employment, is looking backwards and forwards in a moral and religious way. I am quite transported at the thought, that ere long, perhaps very soon, I shall bid an eternal adieu to all the pains, and uneasinesses, and disquietudes of this weary life; for I assure you I am heartily tired of it; and, if I do not very much deceive myself, I could contentedly and gladly resign it.

'The soul, uneasy, and confin'd at home,
Rests and expatiates in a life to come.'

'It is for this reason I am more pleased with the 15th, 16th, and 17th verses of the 7th chapter of Revelation, than with any ten times as many verses in the whole Bible, and would not exchange the noble enthusiasm with which they inspire me for all that this world has to offer. As for this world, I despair of ever making a figure in it. I am not formed for the bustle of the busy, nor the flutter of the gay. I shall never again be capable of entering into such scenes. Indeed I am altogether unconcerned at the thoughts of this life. I foresee that poverty and obscurity probably await me, and I

am

am in some measure prepared, and daily preparing to meet them. I have but just time and paper to return you my grateful thanks for the lessons of virtue and piety you have given me; which were too much neglected at the time of giving them, but which, I hope, have been remembered ere it is yet too late.' I. p. 99—101.

Before proceeding to take any particular notice of his poetical compositions, we must apprise our Southern readers, that all his best pieces are written in Scotch; and that it is impossible for them to form any adequate judgment of their merits, without a pretty long residence among those who still use that language. To be able to translate the words, is but a small part of the knowledge that is necessary. The whole genius and idiom of the language must be familiar; and the characters, and habits, and associations of those who speak it. We beg leave too, in passing, to observe, that this Scotch is not to be considered as a provincial dialect,—the vehicle only of rustic vulgarity and rude local humour. It is the language of a whole country,—long an independent kingdom, and still separate in laws, character and manners. It is by no means peculiar to the vulgar; but is the common speech of the whole nation in early life,—and with many of its most exalted and accomplished individuals throughout their whole existence; and, if it be true that, in later times, it has been, in some measure, laid aside by the more ambitious and aspiring of the present generation, it is still recollected, even by them, as the familiar language of their childhood, and of those who were the earliest objects of their love and veneration. It is connected, in their imagination, not only with that olden time which is uniformly conceived as more pure, lofty and simple than the present, but also with all the soft and bright colours of remembered childhood and domestic affection. All its phrases conjure up images of school-day innocence, and sports, and friendships which have no pattern in succeeding years. Add to all this, that it is the language of a great body of poetry, with which almost all Scotchmen are familiar; and, in particular, of a great multitude of songs, written with more tenderness, nature, and feeling, than any other lyric compositions that are extant, and we may perhaps be allowed to say, that the Scotch is, in reality, a highly poetical language; and that it is an ignorant, as well as an illiberal prejudice, which would seek to confound it with the barbarous dialects of Yorkshire or Devon. In composing his Scottish poems, therefore, Burns did not make an instinctive and necessary use of the only dialect he could employ. The last letter which we have quoted, proves, that before he had penned a single couplet, he could write in the dialect of England with far greater purity and propriety than nine-tenths of those who are called well educated in that country. He wrote in Scotch, because

becauſe the writings which he moſt aſpired to imitate were compoſed in that language; and it is evident, from the variations preſerved by Dr Currie, that he took much greater pains with the beauty and purity of his expreſſions in Scotch than in Engliſh; and, every one who underſtands both, muſt admit, with infinitely better ſucceſs.

But though we have ventured to ſay thus much in praiſe of the Scottiſh poetry of Burns, we cannot preſume to lay many ſpecimens of it before our readers; and, in the few extracts we may be tempted to make from the volumes before us, ſhall be guided more by a deſire to exhibit what may be intelligible to all our readers, than by a feeling of what is in itſelf of the higheſt excellence.

We have ſaid that Burns is almoſt equally diſtinguiſhed for his tenderneſs and his humour:—we might have added, for a faculty of combining them both in the ſame ſubject, not altogether without parallel in the older poets and balladmakers, but altogether ſingular, we think, among modern critics. The paſſages of pure humour are entirely Scotiſh,—and untranſlateable. They conſiſt in the moſt picturesque repreſentations of life and manners, enlivened, and even exalted by traits of exquiſite ſagacity, and unexpected reflection. His tenderneſs is of two ſorts; that which is combined with circumſtances and characters of humble, and ſometimes ludicrous ſimplicity; and that which is produced by gloomy and diſtreſsful impreſſions acting on a mind of keen ſenſibility. The paſſages which belong to the former deſcription are, we think, the moſt exquiſite and original, and, in our eſtimation, indicate the greateſt and moſt amiable turn of genius; both as being accompanied by fine and feeling pictures of humble life, and as requiring that delicacy, as well as juſtneſs of conception, by which alone the faſtidiouſneſs of an ordinary reader can be reconciled to ſuch repreſentations. The exquiſite deſcription of 'the Cotter's Saturday Night' affords, perhaps, the fineſt example of this ſort of pathetic. Its whole beauty cannot, indeed, be diſcerned but by thoſe whom experience has enabled to judge of the admirable fidelity and completeneſs of the picture. But, independent altogether of national peculiarities, and even in ſpite of the obſcurity of the language, we are perſuaded that it is impoſſible to peruſe the following ſtanzas without feeling the force of tenderneſs and truth.

'November chill blaws loud wi' angry ſugh;
The ſhort'ning winter-day is near a cloſe;
The miry beaſts retreating frae the pleugh;
The black'ning trains o' craws to their repoſe:
The toil-worn *Cotter* frae his labour goes,
This night his weekly moil is at an end,

Collects

Collects his spades, his mattocks, and his hoes,
Hoping the *morn* in ease and rest to spend,
And weary, o'er the moor, his course does hameward bend.

'At length his lonely cot appears in view,
Beneath the shelter of an aged tree;
Th' expectant *wee-things*, toddlin, stacher thro'
To meet their Dad, wi' flichterin noise an' glee.
His wee bit ingle, blinkin bonnily,
His clean hearth-stane, his thriftie *wifie*'s smile,
The lisping infant prattling on his knee,
Does a' his weary carking cares beguile,
An' makes him quite forget his labour an' his toil.

'Belyve the elder bairns come drapping in,
At service out, amang the farmers roun';
Some ca' the pleugh, some herd, some tentie rin
A canna errand to a neebor town:
Their eldest hope, their *Jenny*, woman grown,
In youthfu' bloom, love sparkling in her e'e,
Comes hame, perhaps, to shew a braw new gown,
Or deposite her sair-won penny fee,
To help her parents dear, if they in hardship be.

'But hark! a rap comes gently to the door;
Jenny, wha kens the meaning o' the same,
Tells how a neebor lad cam o'er the moor,
To do some errands, and convoy her hame.
The wily mother sees the conscious flame
Sparkle in *Jenny*'s e'e, and flush her cheek;
With heart-struck anxious care, inquires his name,
While *Jenny* hafflins is afraid to speak;
Weel pleas'd, the mother hears its nae wild, worthless rake.

'Wi' kindly welcome *Jenny* brings him ben;
A strappan youth; he taks the mother's eye;
Blythe *Jenny* sees the visit's no ill ta'en;
The father cracks of horses, pleughs, and kye.
The youngster's artless heart o'erflows wi' joy.
But blate and laithfu', scarce can weel behave;
The mother, wi' a woman's wiles, can spy
What makes the youth sae bashfu' an' sae grave;
Weel pleas'd to think her *bairn*'s respected like the lave.

'The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,
They, round the ingle, form a circle wide;
The sire turns o'er, wi' patriarchal grace,
The big *ha'-Bible*, ance his father's pride:
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,
His lyart haffets wearing thin an' bare;
Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide,

He

He wales a portion with judicious care;
And '*Let us worship* GOD!' he says, with solemn air.

'They chant their artless notes in simple guise;
They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim.' &c.

'Then homeward all take off their sev'ral way;
The youngling cottagers retire to rest:
The parent pair their *secret homage* pay,
And proffer up to Heaven the warm request
That *He* who stills the raven's clam'rous nest,
And decks the lily fair in flow'ry pride,
Would, in the way his wisdom sees the best,
For them and for their little ones provide;
But chiefly, in their hearts, with *grace divine* preside.' III. 174–181.

The charm of the fine lines written on turning up a mouse's nest with the plough, will also be found to consist in the simple tenderness of the delineation.

'Thy wee bit *housie*, too, in ruin!
Its silly wa's the wins are strewin!
An' naething, now, to big a new ane,
O' foggage green!
An' bleak December's winds ensuin,
Baith snell and keen!

'Thou saw the fields laid bare an' waste,
An' weary winter comin fast,
An' cozie here beneath the blast,
Thou thought to dwell,
'Till crash! the cruel *coulter* past
Out thro' thy cell.

'That wee bit heap o' leaves an' stibble,
Has cost thee mony a weary nibble!
Now thou's turn'd out, for a' thy trouble,
But house or hald,
To thole the winter's sleety dribble,
An' cranreuch cauld!' III. p. 147.

The verses to a Mountain Daisy, though more elegant and picturesque, seem to derive their chief beauty from the same sentiment.

'Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flow'r,
Thou's met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush amang the stoure
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
Thou bonnie gem.

'Alas! it's no thy neebor sweet,
The bonnie *Lark*, companion meet!

Bending

Bending thee 'mang the dewy weet!
Wi' spreckl'd breast,
When upward-springing, blythe to greet
The purpling east.

'Cauld blew the bitter-biting north
Upon thy early, humble birth;
Yet cheerfully thou glinted forth
Amid the storm,
Scarce rear'd above the parent earth
Thy tender form.

'There, in thy scanty mantle clad,
Thy snawie bosom sun-ward spread,
Thou lifts thy unassuming head
In humble guise;
But now the *share* uptears thy bed,
And low thou lies!' III. p. 201, 202.

There are many touches of the same kind in most of the popular and beautiful poems in this collection, especially in the Winter Night—the address to his old Mare—the address to the Devil, &c.;—in all which, though the greater part of the piece be merely ludicrous and picturesque, there are traits of a delicate and tender feeling, indicating that unaffected softness of heart which is always so enchanting. In the humorous address to the Devil, which we have just mentioned, every Scottish reader must have felt the effect of this relenting nature in the following stanzas.

'Lang syne, in *Eden's* bonie yard,
When youthfu' lovers first were pair'd,
An' all the soul of love they shar'd,
The raptur'd hour,
Sweet on the fragrant, flow'ry swaird,
In shady bow'r:

'Then you, ye auld, snic-drawing dog!
Ye came to Paradise incog,
An' gied the infant warld a shog,
'Maist ruin'd a'.

'But, fare you weel, auld *Nickie-ben!*
O wad ye tak a thought an' men'!
Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a *stake*—
I'm wae to think upo' yon den,
Ev'n for your sake!' III. p. 74, 76.

The finest examples, however, of this simple and unpretending tenderness, is to be found in those songs which are likely to transmit the name of Burns to all future generations. He found this

this delightful trait in the old Scotish ballads which he took for his model, and upon which he has improved with a felicity and delicacy of imitation altogether unrivalled in the history of literature. Sometimes it is the brief and simple pathos of the genuine old ballad; as,

'But I look to the West when I lie down to rest,
That happy my dreams and my slumbers may be;
For far in the West lives he I love best,
The lad that is dear to my baby and me.'

Or, as in this other specimen—

'Drumossie moor, Drumossie day,
A waefu' day it was to me;
For there I lost my father dear,
My father dear, and brethren three.

'Their winding sheet the bluidy clay,
Their graves are growing green to see;
And by them lies the dearest lad
That ever blest a woman's e'e!
Now wae to thee, thou cruel lord,
A bluidy man I trow thou be;
For mony a heart thou hast made sair,
That ne'er did wrong to thine or thee.' IV. p. 337.

Sometimes it is animated with airy narrative, and adorned with images of the utmost elegance and beauty. As a specimen taken at random, we insert the following stanzas.

'And ay she wrought her mammie's wark,
And ay she sang sae merrilie:
The blythest bird upon the bush
Had ne'er a lighter heart than she.

'But hawks will rob the tender joys
That bless the little lintwhite's nest;
And frost will blight the fairest flowers,
And love will break the soundest rest.

'Young Robie was the brawest lad,
The flower and pride of a' the glen;
And he had owsen, sheep, and kye,
And wanton naigies nine or ten.

'He gaed wi' Jeanie to the tryste,
He danc'd wi' Jeanie on the down;
And lang ere witless Jeanie wist,
Her heart was tint, her peace was stown.

'As in the bosom o' the stream
The moon-beam dwells at dewy e'en;
So trembling, pure, was infant love
Within the breast o' bonnie Jean.' IV. 80.

Sometimes

Sometimes, again, it is plaintive and mournful,—in the same strain of unaffected simplicity.

'O stay, sweet warbling wood-lark, stay,
Nor quit for me the trembling spray!
A hapless lover courts thy lay,
Thy soothing fond complaining.

'Again, again that tender part,
That I may catch thy melting art;
For surely that wad touch her heart,
Wha kills me wi' disdaining.

'Say, was thy little mate unkind,
And heard thee as the careless wind?
Oh, nocht but love and sorrow join'd,
Sic notes o' woe could wauken.

'Thou tells o' never-ending care;
O' speechless grief, and dark despair;
For pity's sake, sweet bird, nae mair!
Or my poor heart is broken!' IV. 226, 227.

We add the following from Mr Cromek's new volume; as the original form of the very popular song given at p. 325. of Dr Currie's 4th volume.

'Ye flowery banks o' bonie Doon,
How can ye blume sae fair;
How can ye chant, ye little birds,
And I sae fu' o' care!

'Thou'll break my heart, thou bonie bird
That sings upon the bough;
Thou minds me o' the happy days
When my fause luve was true.

'Thou'll break my heart, thou bonie bird
That sings beside thy mate;
For sae I sat, and sae I sang,
And wist na o' my fate.

'Aft hae I rov'd by bonie Doon,
To see the woodbine twine,
And ilka bird sang o' its love,
And sae did I o' mine.

'Wi' lightsome heart I pu'd a rose
Frae aff its thorny tree,
And my fause luver staw the rose,
But left the thorn wi' me.' V. p. 17, 18.

Sometimes the rich imagery of the poet's fancy almost overcomes the leading sentiment.

'The merry ploughboy cheers his team,
Wi' joy the tentie seedsman stalks,

But life to me's a weary dream,
A dream of ane that never wauks.

'The wanton coot the water skims,
Amang the reeds the ducklings cry,
The stately swan majestic swims,
And every thing is blest but I.

'The sheep-herd steeks his faulding slap,
And owre the moorlands whistles shill;
Wi' wild, unequal, wand'ring step
I meet him on the dewy hill.

'And when the lark, 'tween light and dark,
Blythe waukens by the daisy's side,
And mounts and sings on flittering wings,
A woe-worn ghaist I hameward glide.' III. 284, 285.

The sensibility which is thus associated with simple imagery and gentle melancholy, is to us the most winning and attractive. But Burns has also expressed it when it is merely the instrument of torture—of keen remorse and tender agonizing regret. There are some strong traits of the former feeling, in the poems entitled the Lament, Despondency, &c., when, looking back to the times

'When love's luxurious pulse beat high,'

he bewails the consequences of his own irregularities. There is something cumbrous and inflated, however, in the diction of these pieces. We are infinitely more moved with his Elegy upon Highland Mary. Of this first love of the poet, we are indebted to Mr Cromek for a brief, but very striking account, from the pen of the poet himself. In a note on an early song inscribed to this mistress, he had recorded in a manuscript book—

'My Highland lassie was a warm-hearted, charming young creature as ever blessed a man with generous love. After a pretty long tract of the most ardent reciprocal attachment, we met, by appointment, on the second Sunday of May, in a sequestered spot by the Banks of Ayr, where we spent the day in taking a farewel, before she should embark for the West-Highlands, to arrange matters among her friends for our projected change of life. At the close of Autumn following, she crossed the sea to meet me at Greenock; where she had scarce landed when she was seized with a malignant fever, which hurried my dear girl to the grave in a few days,—before I could even hear of her illness.' V. 237–8.

Mr Cromek, has added, in a note, the following interesting particulars; though without specifying the authority upon which he details them.

'This adieu was performed with all those simple and striking ceremonials which rustic sentiment has devised to prolong tender emotions and to inspire awe. The lovers stood on each side of a small purling brook; they laved their hands in its limpid stream, and, holding

holding a bible between them, pronounced their vows to be faithful to each other. They parted—never to meet again!

'The anniversary of *Mary Campbell*'s death (for that was her name), awakening in the sensitive mind of *Burns* the most lively emotion, he retired from his family, then residing on the farm of Ellisland, and wandered, solitary, on the banks of the Nith, and about the farm yard, in the extremest agitation of mind, nearly the whole of the night: His agitation was so great, that he threw himself on the side of a corn stack, and there conceived his sublime and tender elegy—his address *To Mary in Heaven.*' V. 238.

The poem itself is as follows.

'Thou lingering star, with less'ning ray,
That lov'st to greet the early morn,
Again thou usher'st in the day
My Mary from my soul was torn.

'O Mary! dear departed shade!
Where is thy place of blissful rest?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast?

'That sacred hour can I forget,
Can I forget the hallowed grove,
Where by the winding Ayr we met,
To live one day of parting love!

'Eternity will not efface
Those records dear of transports past;
Thy image at our last embrace;
Ah! little thought we 'twas our last!

'Ayr gurgling kissed his pebbled shore,
O'erhung with wild woods, thickening, green;
The fragrant birch, and hawthorn hoar,
Twin'd amorous round the raptured scene.

'The flowers sprang wanton to be prest,
The birds sang love on every spray,
Till too, too soon, the glowing west
Proclaim'd the speed of winged day.

'Still o'er these scenes my mem'ry wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care;
Time but the impression stronger makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear.

'My Mary, dear departed shade!
Where is thy place of blissful rest?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast?' I. 125–6.

Of his pieces of humour, the tale of Tam o' Shanter is probably the best: though there are traits of infinite merit in Scotch

Drink, the Holy Fair, the Hallow E'en, and several of the Songs; in all of which, it is very remarkable, that he rises occasionally into a strain of beautiful description or lofty sentiment, far above the pitch of his original conception. The poems of observation on life and characters, are the Twa Dogs, and the various Epistles,—all of which show very extraordinary sagacity and powers of expression. They are written, however, in so broad a dialect, that we dare not venture to quote any part of them. The only pieces that can be classed under the head of pure fiction, are the Two Bridges of Ayr, and the Vision. In the last, there are some vigorous and striking lines. We select the passage in which the Muse describes the early propensities of her favourite, rather as being more intelligible, than as superior to the rest of the poem.

" I saw thee seek the sounding shore,
Delighted with the dashing roar;
Or when the North his fleecy store
Drove through the sky,
I saw grim Nature's visage hoar
Struck thy young eye.

" Or when the deep-green mantl'd earth
Warm cherish'd ev'ry flow'ret's birth,
And joy and music pouring forth
In ev'ry grove,
I saw thee eye the gen'ral mirth
With boundless love.

" When ripen'd fields, and azure skies,
Call'd forth the reapers' rustling noise,
I saw thee leave their ev'ning joys,
And lonely stalk,
To vent thy bosom's swelling rise
In pensive walk.

" When youthful love, warm blushing, strong,
Keen-shivering shot thy nerves along,
Those accents, grateful to thy tongue,
Th' adored *Name*,
I taught thee how to pour in song,
To sooth thy flame.

" I saw thy pulse's maddening play,
Wild send thee Pleasure's devious way,
Misled by Fancy's meteor-ray,
By Passion driven;
But yet the *light* that led astray
Was *light* from heaven." III. 109-10.

There is another fragment, called a Vision, which belongs to a higher order of poetry. If Burns had never written any thing else,

else, the power of description, and the vigour of the whole composition, would have entitled him to the remembrance of posterity.

'The winds were laid, the air was still,
The stars they shot alang the sky;
The fox was howling on the hill,
And the distant-echoing glens reply.

'The stream adown its hazelly path,
Was rushing by the ruin'd wa's,
Hasting to join the sweeping Nith,
Whase distant roaring swells an' fa's.

'The cauld blue north was streaming forth
Her lights, wi' hissing eerie din;
Athort the lift they start and shift,
Like fortune's favours, tint as win.

'By heedless chance I turn'd mine eyes,
And by the moon-beam, shook, to see
A stern and stalwart ghaist arise,
Attir'd as minstrels wont to be.

'Had I a statue been o' stane,
His darin look had daunted me;
And on his bonnet grav'd was plain,
The sacred posy—Liberty!

'And frae his harp sic strains did flow,
Might rous'd the slumb'ring dead to hear;
But oh, it was a tale of woe,
As ever met a Briton's ear!

'He sang wi' joy the former day,
He weeping wail'd his latter times.—
But what he said it was nae play,
I winna ventur't in my rhymes.' IV. 344–46.

Some verses, written for a Hermitage, sound like the best parts of Grongar Hill. The reader may take these few lines as a specimen.

'As thy day grows warm and high,
Life's meridian flaming nigh,
Dost thou spurn the humble vale?
Life's proud summits would'st thou scale?
Dangers, eagle-pinioned, bold,
Soar around each cliffy hold,
While cheerful peace, with linnet song,
Chants the lowly dells among.' III. p. 299.

There is a little copy of Verses upon a Newspaper, at p. 355. of Dr Currie's 4th volume, written in the same condensed style, and only wanting translation into English to be worthy of Swift.

The finest piece, of the strong and nervous sort, however, is

undoubtedly the address of Robert Bruce to his army at Bannockburn, beginning, 'Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled.' The Death-Song, beginning,

'Farewell, thou fair day, thou green earth and ye skies,
Now gay with the bright-setting sun,'

is to us less pleasing. There are specimens, however, of such vigour and emphasis scattered through his whole works, as are sure to make themselves and their author remembered; for instance, that noble description of a dying soldier.

'Nae cauld, faint-hearted doubtings tease him:
Death comes; wi' fearless eye he sees him;
Wi' bluidy hand a welcome gi'es him;
An' whan he fa's,
His latest draught o' breathin lea'es him
In faint huzzas.' III. p. 27.

The whole song of 'For a' that,' is written with extraordinary spirit. The first stanza ends,

'For rank is but the guinea stamp;
The *man*'s the goud, for a' that.'

—All the songs, indeed, abound with traits of this kind. We select the following at random.

'O woman, lovely, woman fair!
An angel form's faun to thy share,
'Twad been o'er meikle to've gi'en thee mair,
I mean an angel mind.' IV. 330.

We dare not proceed further in specifying the merits of pieces which have been so long published. Before concluding upon this subject, however, we must beg leave to express our dissent from the poet's amiable and judicious biographer, in what he says of the general harshness and rudeness of his versification. Dr Currie, we are afraid, was not Scotchman enough to comprehend the whole prosody of the verses to which he alluded. Most of the Scottish pieces are more carefully versified than the English; and we appeal to our Southern readers, whether there be any want of harmony in the following stanza.

'Wild beats my heart to trace your steps,
Whose ancestors, in days of yore,
Thro' hostile ranks and ruin'd gaps
Old *Scotia*'s bloody lion bore:
Ev'n *I* who sing in rustic lore,
Haply *my sires* have left their shed,
And fac'd grim danger's loudest roar,
Bold-following where *your* fathers led! III. p. 233.

The following is not quite English; but it is intelligible to all readers of English, and may satisfy them that the Scottish songwriter was not habitually negligent of his numbers.

'Their

'Their groves o' sweet myrtle let foreign lands reckon,
Where bright-beaming summers exalt the perfume;
Far dearer to me yon lone glen o' green breckan,
Wi' the burn stealing under the lang yellow broom.
Far dearer to me are yon humble broom bowers,
Where the blue-bell and gowan lurk lowly unseen:
For there, lightly tripping amang the wild flowers,
A listening the linnet, aft wanders my Jean.

'Tho' rich is the breeze in their gay sunny vallies,
And cauld, Caledonia's blast on the wave;
Their sweet-scented woodlands that skirt the proud palace,
What are they? The haunt o' the tyrant and slave!
The slave's spicy forests, and gold-bubbling fountains,
The brave Caledonian views wi' disdain;
He wanders as free as the winds of his mountains,
Save love's willing fetters, the chains o' his Jean.' IV. 228–9.

If we have been able to inspire our readers with any portion of our own admiration for this extraordinary writer, they will readily forgive us for the irregularity of which we have been guilty, in introducing so long an account of his whole works, under colour of the additional volume of which we have prefixed the title to this article. The truth is, however, that unless it be taken in connexion with his other works, the present volume has little interest, and could not be made the subject of any intelligible observations. It is made up of some additional letters, of middling merit,—of complete copies of others, of which Dr Currie saw reason to publish only extracts,—of a number of remarks, by Burns, on old Scottish songs,—and finally, of a few additional poems and songs, certainly not disgraceful to the author, but scarcely fitted to add to his reputation. The world, however, is indebted, we think, to Mr Cromek's industry for this addition to so popular an author;—and the friends of the poet, we are sure, are indebted to his good taste, moderation and delicacy, for having confined it to the pieces which are now printed. Burns wrote many rash—many violent, and many indecent things; of which we have no doubt many specimens must have fallen into the hands of so diligent a collector. He has, however, carefully suppressed every thing of this description, and shown that tenderness for his author's memory, which is the best proof of the veneration with which he regards his talents. We shall now see if there be any thing in the volume which deserves to be particularly noticed.

The Preface is very amiable, and well written. Mr Cromek speaks with becoming respect and affection of Dr Currie, the learned biographer and editor of the poet, and with great modesty of his own qualifications.

'As an apology (he says) for any defects of my own that may appear in this publication, I beg to observe that I am by profession an artist, and not an author. In the manner of laying them before the public, I honestly declare that I have done my best; and I trust I may fairly presume to hope, that the man who has contributed to extend the bounds of literature, by adding another genuine volume to the writings of Robert Burns, has some claim on the gratitude of his countrymen. On this occasion, I certainly feel something of that sublime and heart-swelling gratification, which he experiences, who casts another stone on the CAIRN of a great and lamented chief.' Pref. p. xi. xii.

Of the Letters, which occupy nearly half the volume, we cannot on the whole express any more favourable opinion than that which we have already ventured to pronounce on the prose compositions of this author in general. Indeed they abound, rather more than those formerly published, in ravings about sensibility and imprudence,—in common swearing, and in professions of love for whisky. By far the best, are those which are addressed to Miss Chalmers; and that chiefly, because they seem to be written with less effort, and at the same time with more respect for his correspondent. The following was written at a most critical period of his life; and the good feelings and good sense which it displays, only make us regret more deeply that they were not attended with greater firmness.

'Shortly after my last return to Ayrshire, I married "my Jean." This was not in consequence of the attachment of romance perhaps; but I had a long and much lov'd fellow-creature's happiness or misery in my determination, and I durst not trifle with so important a deposite. Nor have I any cause to repent it. If I have not got polite tattle, modish manners, and fashionable dress, I am not sickened and disgusted with the multiform curse of boarding-school affectation; and I have got the handsomest figure, the sweetest temper, the soundest constitution, and the kindest heart in the county. Mrs Burns believes, as firmly as her creed, that I am *le plus bel esprit, et le plus honnete homme* in the universe; although she scarcely ever in her life, except the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Psalms of David in metre, spent five minutes together on either prose or verse.—I must except also from this fast, a certain late publication of Scots poems, which she has perused very devoutly; and all the ballads in the country, as she has (O the partial lover! you will cry) the finest "wood-note wild" I ever heard.—I am the more particular in this lady's character, as I know she will henceforth have the honour of a share in your best wishes. She is still at Mauchline, as I am building my house: for this hovel that I shelter in, while occasionally here, is pervious to every blast that blows, and every shower that falls; and I am only preserved from being chilled to death, by being suffocated with smoke. I do not find my farm

farm that pennyworth I was taught to expect; but I believe, in time, it may be a saving bargain. You will be pleased to hear that I have laid aside idle *eclat*, and bind every day after my reapers.'

'To save me from that horrid situation of at any time going down, in a losing bargain of a farm, to misery, I have taken my excise instructions, and have my commission in my pocket for any emergency of fortune. If I could set *all* before your view, whatever disrespect you, in common with the world, have for this business, I know you would approve of my idea.' V. p. 74, 75.

We may add the following, for the sake of connexion.

'I know not how the word exciseman, or still more opprobrious, gauger, will sound in your ears. I too have seen the day when my auditory nerves would have felt very delicately on this subject; but a wife and children are things which have a wonderful power in blunting these kind of sensations. Fifty pounds a year for life, and a provision for widows and orphans, you will allow is no bad settlement for a *poet*. For the ignominy of the profession, I have the encouragement which I once heard a recruiting serjeant give to a numerous, if not a respectable audience, in the streets of Kilmarnock—"Gentlemen, for your further and better encouragement, I can assure you that our regiment is the most blackguard corps under the "crown, and consequently with us an honest fellow has the surest "chance for preferment." V. p. 99, 100.

It would have been as well if Mr Cromek had left out the history of Mr Hamilton's dissensions with his parish minister,—Burns's apology to a gentleman with whom he had had a drunken squabble,—and the anecdote of his being used to *ask for more liquor*, when visiting in the country, under the pretext of fortifying himself against the terrors of a little wood he had to pass through in going home. The most interesting passages, indeed, in this part of the volume, are those for which we are indebted to Mr Cromek himself. He informs us, for instance, in a note,

'One of Burns's remarks, when he first came to Edinburgh, was, that between the men of rustic life and the polite world he observed little difference—that in the former, though unpolished by fashion, and unenlightened by science, he had found much observation and much intelligence;—but a refined and accomplished woman was a being almost new to him, and of which he had formed but a very inadequate idea.' V. p. 68, 69.

He adds also, in another place, that 'the poet, when questioned about his habits of composition, replied,—"All my "poetry is the effect of easy composition, but of laborious cor-"rection." It is pleasing to know those things—even if they were really as trifling as to a superficial observer they may probably appear. There is a very amiable letter from Mr Murdoch, the poet's early preceptor, at p. 111.; and a very splendid one from Mr Bloomfield, at p. 135. As nothing is more rare, among the minor

minor poets, than a candid acknowledgment of their own inferiority, we think Mr Bloomfield well entitled to have his magnanimity recorded.

'The illustrious soul that has left amongst us the name of Burns, has often been lowered down to a comparison with me; but the comparison exists more in circumstances than in essentials. That man stood up with the stamp of superior intellect on his brow; a visible greatness: and great and patriotic subjects would only have called into action the powers of his mind, which lay inactive while he played calmly and exquisitely the pastoral pipe.

'The letters to which I have alluded in my preface to the "Rural Tales," were friendly warnings, pointed with immediate reference to the fate of that extraordinary man. "Remember Burns," has been the watch-word of my friends. I do remember Burns; but I *am not* Burns! I have neither his fire to fan or to quench; nor his passions to controul! Where then is my merit, if I make a peaceful voyage on a smooth sea and with no mutiny on board?" V. p. 135, 136.

The observations on Scotish songs, which fill nearly 150 pages, are, on the whole, minute and trifling; though the exquisite justness of the poet's taste, and his fine relish of simplicity in this species of composition, is no less remarkable here than in his correspondence with Mr Thomson. Of all other kinds of poetry, he was so indulgent a judge, that he may almost be termed an indiscriminate admirer. We find, too, from these observations, that several songs and pieces of songs, which he printed as genuine antiques, were really of his own composition.

The common-place book, from which Dr Currie had formerly selected all that he thought worth publication, is next given entire by Mr Cromek. We were quite as well, we think, with the extracts;—at all events, there was no need for reprinting what had been given by Dr Currie;—a remark which is equally applicable to the letters of which we had formerly extracts.

Of the additional poems which form the concluding part of the volume, we have but little to say. We have little doubt of their authenticity; for, though the editor has omitted, in almost every instance, to specify the source from which they were derived, they certainly bear the stamp of the author's manner and genius. They are not, however, of his purest metal, nor marked with his finest die: Several of them have appeared in print already; and the songs are, as usual, the best. This little lamentation of a desolate damsel, is tender and pretty.

'My father pat me frae his door,
My friends they hae disown'd me a';
But I hae ane will tak my part,
The bonie lad that's far awa.

'A

'A pair o' gloves he gave to me,
And silken snoods he gave me twa;
And I will wear them for his sake,
The bonie lad that's far awa.

'The weary winter soon will pass,
And spring will cleed the birken-shaw;
And my sweet babie will be born,
And he'll come hame that's far awa.' V. 432, 433.

We now reluctantly dismiss this subject. We scarcely hoped, when we began our critical labours, that an opportunity would ever occur of speaking of Burns as we wished to speak of him: and therefore, we feel grateful to Mr Cromek for giving us this opportunity. As we have no means of knowing, with precision, to what extent his writings are known and admired in the southern part of the kingdom, we have perhaps fallen into the error of quoting passages that are familiar to most of our readers, and dealing out praise which every one of them has previously repeated. We felt it impossible, however, to resist the temptation of transcribing a few of the passages which struck us on turning over the volumes; and reckon with confidence on the gratitude of those to whom they are new,—while we are not without hopes of being forgiven by those who have been used to admire them.

We shall conclude with two general remarks—the one national, the other critical. The first is, that it is impossible to read the productions of Burns, along with his history, without forming a higher idea of the intelligence, taste, and accomplishments of the peasantry, than most of those in the higher ranks are disposed to entertain. Without meaning to deny that he himself was endowed with rare and extraordinary gifts of genius and fancy, it is evident, from the whole details of his history, as well as from the letters of his brother, and the testimony of Mr Murdoch and others to the character of his father, that the whole family, and many of their associates, who have never emerged from the native obscurity of their condition, possessed talents, and taste, and intelligence, which are little suspected to lurk in those humble retreats. His epistles to brother poets, in the rank of farmers and shopkeepers in the adjoining villages,—the existence of a book-society and debating-club among persons of that description, and many other incidental traits in his sketches of his youthful companions,—all contribute to show, that not only good sense, and enlightened morality, but literature, and talents for speculation, are far more generally diffused in society than is generally imagined; and that the delights and the benefits of these generous and humanizing pursuits, are by no means confined to those whom leisure and affluence have courted to their enjoyment.

That

That much of this is peculiar to Scotland, and may be properly referred to our excellent institutions for parochial education, and to the natural sobriety and prudence of our nation, may certainly be allowed: but we have no doubt that there is a good deal of the same principle in England, and that the actual intelligence of the lower orders will be found, there also, very far to exceed the ordinary estimates of their superiors. It is pleasing to know, that the sources of rational enjoyment are so widely disseminated; and, in a free country, it is comfortable to think, that so great a proportion of the people is able to appretiate the advantages of its condition, and fit to be relied on in all emergencies where steadiness and intelligence may be required.

Our other remark is of a more limited application; and is addressed chiefly to the followers and patrons of that new school of poetry, against which we have thought it our duty to neglect no opportunity of testifying. Those gentlemen are outrageous for simplicity; and we beg leave to recommend to them the simplicity of Burns. He has copied the spoken language of passion and affection, with infinitely more fidelity than they have ever done, on all occasions which properly admitted of such adaptation: but he has not rejected the helps of elevated language and habitual associations; nor debased his composition by an affectation of babyish interjections, and all the puling expletives of an old nurserymaid's vocabulary. They may look long enough among his nervous and manly lines, before they find any "Good lacks!"—"Dear hearts!"—or "As a body may say," in them; or any stuff about dancing daffodils and sister Emmelines. Let them think, with what infinite contempt the powerful mind of Burns would have perused the story of Alice Fell and her duffle cloak,—of Andrew Jones and the half-crown,—or of Little Dan without breeches, and his thievish grandfather. Let them contrast their own fantastical personages of hysterical schoolmasters and sententious leechgatherers, with the authentic rustics of Burns's Cotters' Saturday Night, and his inimitable songs; and reflect on the different reception which these personifications have met with from the public. Though they will not be reclaimed from their puny affectations by the example of their learned predecessors, they may, perhaps, submit to be admonished by a self-taught and illiterate poet, who drew from Nature far more directly than they can do, and produced something so much liker the admired copies of the masters whom they have abjured.

ART.

ART. II. *Lettre aux Espagnols-Americains.* Par un de leurs Compatriotes. A Philadelphie. 8vo. pp. 42.

THIS curious and interesting address is the production of Don Juan Pablo Viscardo y Gusman, a native of Arequipa in Peru, and an ecclesiastic of the Order of Jesus. When the Jesuits were banished from all the territories of Spain, he, with the rest of his order, who, whatever may have been their demerits in other parts of the world, had been the chief benefactors of Spanish America,* was deprived of his country, and took refuge in the dominions of the Pope in Italy. At the time when the dispute about Nootka Sound threatened to produce a war between Great Britain and Spain, and when Mr Pitt, in the view of that event, had adopted the scheme of revolutionizing the Spanish colonies in America, he invited, at the suggestion of General Miranda, a certain number of the ex-Jesuits of South America from Italy, for the purpose of using their influence in disposing the minds of their countrymen for the meditated changes. Of this number was the author of the present appeal, in which the inhabitants of South America are called upon, by every consideration interesting to human kind, to take the management of their own affairs into their own hands, and to establish a just and beneficent government, which may at once insure their own happiness, and open a liberal intercourse of benefits with the rest of mankind. This uncommon person, who evinces a share of knowledge, of thought, and of liberality, worthy of the most enlightened countries, died in London in the month of February 1798, and left the present tract, in manuscript, together with several other

* Montesquieu says of this Order, 'Il est glorieux pour elle d'avoir été la premiere qui ait montré dans ces contrées [Spanish America] l'idée de la religion jointe à celle de l'humanité. En reparant les devastations des Espagnols, elle a commencé à guerir une des grandes plaies qu'ait encore reçues le genre humain.'—*Esprit des Lois, liv. iv. ch.* 6. Dr Robertson, too, when treating of the rapacious, oppressive, and licentious lives of the ecclesiastics of that country, says, 'It is remarkable that all the authors, who censure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with the greatest severity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the Society, which takes such full possession of every member of the order, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintained a most irreproachable decency of manners.'—*History of America, vol. iv. Note xix.*

other papers, in the hands of Mr King, at that time minister in this country from the United States. It was afterwards printed, by means of General Miranda, for the purpose of being circulated among his countrymen.

At a moment like the present, we doubt not it will appear of importance to our readers to contemplate the sentiments of a man who may, to so great a degree, be considered as the representative of the leading classes of his countrymen, on a question at all times highly interesting to Great Britain, but which, in the present situation of Europe, assumes an incalculable importance.

In presenting to his countrymen a short sketch of their history, he tells them, after Herrera, that their progenitors won the country by their own enterprize, and established themselves in it at their own charges, without a farthing of expense to the mother country; that, of their own free accord, they made to her the donation of their vast and opulent acquisitions; that, instead of a paternal and protecting government, they had experienced, at her hands, the most galling effects of a jealous, rapacious, and oppressive administration; and that, for the long period of three centuries, their attachment to her had triumphed over the strongest causes of resentment. He then draws a picture of the oppression to which the colonies of Spain have been subjected; and, after enlarging on the galling restraints in respect to personal liberty, and the ruinous effects of the exorbitant commercial monopoly to which they have been condemned, he alludes to their exclusion from all offices of profit and trust, even in their own country, in a strain of patriotic indignation.

After this picture of slavery, the author proceeds to demonstrate the foundations of liberty; and, considering the education he had received, the country where he was reared, and the society to which he belonged, the beneficence and justness of his views are worthy of no ordinary approbation. He then displays the solid principles of liberty which were originally interwoven in the constitution of Spain, and assisted by the spirit of the people; and, in the following short passage, states, with much discernment, the miserable, but delusive causes of its loss.

'La réunion des royaumes de Castille & d'Arragon, ainsi que les grands Etats, qui dans le même temps échurent aux rois d'Espagne & les trésors des Indes donnèrent à la couronne d'Espagne une prépondérance imprévue, & qui devint si puissante qu'en très-peu de temps, elle renversa toutes les barrières élevées par la prudence de nos ayeux, pour assurer la liberté de leur postérité: l'autorité royale, telle que la mer sortie de ses bornes, inonda toute la monarchie, & la volonté du roi & de ses ministres devint la loi universelle.

'Le pouvoir despotique une fois si solidement établi, l'ombre même des anciens *cortes* n'exista plus; il ne resta, aux droits naturels, civils

&

& religieux des Espagnols, d'autre sauvegarde que le bon plaisir des ministres, ou les anciennes formalités de justice, appellées *Voies Juridiques;* ces dernières ont pu quelquefois s'opposer à l'oppresion de l'innocence, sans empêcher cependant que le proverbe ne soit toujours vérifié: *Là vont les lois, où veulent les rois.*' p. 23, 24.

When he at last comes to call upon his countrymen, from a united view of the nature of things, and of their own particular circumstances, to adopt the resolution of becoming their own masters, he cites, for their example, the celebrated revolt of the provinces of Holland, which all the world admires, against the tyranny and oppression of Spain; that of Portugal against the same country; the recent acquisition of independence by their neighbours in North America,—an event which had made upon them, as might be expected, the deepest impression; and concludes, in a strain of sublime piety, and genuine philanthropy, which cannot be too much admired—including every nation upon earth, and even the Spaniards themselves, in his generous view of the blessings to be derived from the prosperity and freedom of that vast portion of the world.

The brilliant prospects which seem to be opened up for our species in the New World, and the cloud which still thickens over the fortunes of the Old, present, at the present hour, a subject of contemplation to the thinking part of the British people; than which, excepting the great question of slavery or freedom, we know not if one more interesting can be imagined. We seize, with avidity, the present opportunity of communicating to them such information on this grand topic as we have been able to collect; and doubt not that our readers will partake with us in the deep interest with which it has inspired us.

After a tremendous struggle, to which the world has seen, perhaps, no parallel, the power of the despot of France now extends uncontrouled over almost every part of the continent of Europe. The hopes of the instability of that power, which so long continued to flatter the multitude, who draw their conclusions, not from reason, but feeling, have given way to the fears which a series of tremendous success has irresistibly engendered; and we are now placed in the hazardous and most critical situation, of neighbour to a power which combines against us all the resources of Europe, and cuts off from us that important branch of our own, which we drew from her commercial intercourse. To the period, too, which may elapse before the affairs of Europe assume a condition more favourable to human nature, or even to our security, foresight can assign no definite boundary,—even hope can hardly anticipate a very speedy termination. In this new and portentous condition of Europe, we are called upon to look

look more widely around us, and to inquire, whether, in the rest of the world, barriers can be found to resist the torrent whose pressure we must continue to dread, and resources to supply those, the channel of which is closed against us.

In taking this important survey, every eye, we believe, will ultimately rest on South America. A country far surpassing the whole of Europe in extent, and still more, perhaps, in natural fertility, which has been hitherto unfortunately excluded from the beneficent intercourse of nations, is, after a few prudent steps on our part, ready to open to us the immense resources of her territory, of a population at present great, and likely to increase with most extraordinary celerity, and of a position unparalleled on the face of the globe for the astonishing combination of commercial advantages which it appears to unite. From the maturity for some beneficent change, which circumstances and events have for a series of years been working in those magnificent regions, and from the mighty effects they are capable of yielding for the consolation of afflicted humanity, it seems as if that Providence, which is continually bringing good out of evil, were about to open a career of happiness in the new world, at the very moment when, by the mysterious laws of its administration, it appears to have decreed a period of injustice and calamity in the old.

For the mighty benefits to be expected from a just and wise arrangement of the affairs of Spanish America, we are not left to the results of speculation, clear and unambiguous as they are; we can appeal to experience and to fact. We have the grand experiment of North America before us, which the inhabitants of the South are so ambitious to imitate. The states of North America were our own colonies, and they had been always beneficently administered; yet has their independence been far more profitable to us than their subjection. What is the result with regard to commerce alone?—the very extraordinary fact, that for several past years we have exported more goods of British growth and manufacture to the United States of America, than to the whole of Europe taken together. If such are the benefits resulting from the prosperity of the United States, how many times greater will be those which must necessarily flow from the prosperity of South America? How many times more extensive is the country which the Spanish Americans possess. That country, from enjoying a much greater diversity of climate compared with Europe, than North America, is much more richly provided with those commodities for which Europe presents the most eager demand. Of the soil of South America, a great part is much more favourable to cultivation, much more fruitful, and cleared

cleared by nations who had made some progress in civilization. Of all the countries in the world, South America possesses the most important advantages in respect to internal navigation, being intersected in all directions by mighty rivers, which will bear, at little cost, the produce of her extensive provinces to the ocean. If the population of the United States, amounting perhaps to 6,000,000 souls, afford so extraordinary a demand for British commodities, what may not the population of South America, extending already to no less than 16,000,000, be expected to afford? It is no doubt true, that the moral and intellectual habits of the people of South America are not so favourable to improvement as were those of North America. Their industry has been cramped,—their minds have been held in ignorance by a bad government; hence are they indolent and superstitious. But remove the cause, and the effects will cease to follow. So sweet are the fruits of labour, wherever the labourer enjoys them unimpaired, that the motives to it are irresistible,—and his activity may be counted upon with the certainty of a law of nature. The deduction, therefore, is so very small which, on this score, it will be requisite to make, that a very subordinate proportion of the superior advantages in soil and climate, which the South American enjoys, will suffice to compensate the better habits with which the inhabitant of the United States commenced his career.

In respect to wants, the two countries eminently resemble one another. From the immense extent of uncultivated soil, which it will require many ages to occupy, the whole bent of the population will be turned to agriculture; and it will be their interest, and their desire, to draw almost the whole of the manufactured goods, which their riches will enable them to consume, from other countries. The country to which the greater part of this prodigious demand will come, is unquestionably Great Britain. So far before all other countries, in respect to manufacturing advantages, does she stand, that were the circumstances of Europe much more likely to encourage industry than unhappily they are, we could meet with no rival; and as we supply North America, so could we South, on terms which would infallibly draw to us the greater part of her custom. With this magnificent source of industry and wealth, the channels which Bonaparte can shut against us hardly deserve to be named,—since that even of the United States surpasses them all. With South America, then, under a free and beneficent government,—though we might weep for the calamities heaped upon our brethren of Europe by an insatiable despot, who, with the words *liberty* and *good of mankind* on his lips, would rivet his chains on the whole human race, and expend their blood and sweat for his own momentary pleasure or caprice,—we might

laugh the destroyer to scorn, and enjoy a prosperity which the utmost efforts of his power and his rage could never disturb.

In enumerating, however, the advantages of a commercial nature, which would assuredly spring from the emancipation of South America, we have not yet noticed the greatest, perhaps, of all,—the mightiest event, probably, in favour of the peaceful intercourse of nations, which the physical circumstances of the globe present to the enterprize of man:—we mean, the formation of a navigable passage across the isthmus of Panama,—the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It is remarkable, that this magnificent undertaking, pregnant with consequences so important to mankind, and about which so little is known in this country, is so far from being a romantic and chimerical project, that it is not only practicable, but easy. The river Chagre, which falls into the Atlantic at the town of the same name, about eighteen leagues to the westward of Porto Bello, is navigable as far as Cruzes, within five leagues of Panama. But though the formation of a canal from this place to Panama, facilitated by the valley through which the present road passes, appears to present no very formidable obstacles, there is still a better expedient. At the distance of about five leagues from the mouth of the Chagre, it receives the river Trinidad, which is navigable to Embarcadero; and from that place to Panama is a distance of about thirty miles, through a level country, with a fine river to supply water for the canal, and no difficulty whatever to counteract the noble undertaking. The ground has been surveyed; and not the practicability only, but the facility of the work, completely ascertained. In the next place, the important requisite of safe harbours, at the two extremities of the canal, is here supplied to the extent of our utmost wishes. At the mouth of the Chagre is a fine bay, which received the British 74 gun ships, in 1740, when Captain Knowles bombarded the castle of St Lorenzo;—and at the other extremity is the famous harbour of Panama.* Nor is this the only expedient

* For the accuracy of these statements, may be consulted a curious and instructive work, drawn up and published, in 1762, by Thomas Jefferys, geographer to his Majesty; from the draughts and surveys found on board the Spanish prizes; from other accessible documents, and the statements of eyewitnesses. The title of the book, as it is now but little known, it may be worth while to transcribe. 'A Description of the Spanish Islands and Settlements on the Coast of the West Indies; compiled from authentic Memoirs; revised by Gentlemen who have resided many Years in the Spanish Settlements; and illustrated with Thirty-two Maps and Plans, chiefly from original Drawings taken from the Spaniards in the last War, and engraved by Thomas Jefferys,' &c.

dient for opening the important navigation between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Further north, is the grand lake of Nicaraguay, which, by itself, almost extends the navigation from sea to sea. Into the Atlantic Ocean it falls by a navigable river, and reaches to within three leagues of the Gulf of Papagayo in the Pacific. * Mr Jefferys tells us, it was the instruction of the King of Spain to the Governor of St John's Castle, not to permit any British subject to pass either up or down this lake; 'for, if ever the English came to a knowledge of its importance and value, they would soon make themselves masters of this part of the country.' †

We are tempted to dwell for a moment upon the proſpects which the accompliſhment of this ſplendid, but not difficult enterpriſe, opens to our nation. It is not merely the immenſe commerce of the weſtern ſhores of America, extending almoſt from pole to pole, that is brought, as it were, to our door; it is not the intrinſically important, though comparatively moderate branch of our commerce, that of the South Sea whalers, that will alone undergo a complete revolution, by ſaving the tedious and dangerous voyage round Cape Horn:—the whole of thoſe immenſe intereſts which we hold depoſited in the regions of Aſia, become augmented in value, to a degree which, at preſent, it is not eaſy to conceive,

* The reader may consult, on the facility and importance of effecting a navigation from sea to sea by this extraordinary lake, a curious memoir by M. Martin de la Bastide, ancien secretaire de M. le comte de Broglio, published in the second volume of "Histoire Abregée de la mer du Sud, par M. de Laborde."

† See p. 43. of "A Description," &c. above cited. What Alcedo tells us is still more extraordinary, that it was even interdicted, *on pain of death*, to propose opening the navigation between the two seas. 'En tiempo de Felipe II.' says he, 'se proyectó cortarlo, y communicar los dos mares por medio de un canal, y á este efecto se enviaron para reconocerlo dos Ingenieros Flamencos; pero encontraron dificultades insuperables, y el consejo de Indias representó los perjuicios que de ello se seguirian a la monarquia, por cuya razon mandó aquel Monarca que nadie propusiese ó tratase de ello en adelante, *pena de la vida.*' Alcedo, Diccionario Geografico-Historico de las Indias Occidentales, &c. ad verbum *Istmo*. A similar interdiction and penalty was ordained, respecting the navigation of the Atrato, where there is only an interval of a few miles between the navigable parts of the two rivers. 'Es navigable por muchas leguas, pero esta prohibida su navegacion con pena de la vida, sin excepcion de persona alguna, para evitar los perjuicios que se seguirian a las provincias del Nuevo Reyno, por la facilidad con que se podrian internar por el.' Ibid. ad verbum *Atrato*.

ceive, by obtaining direct access to them across the Pacific Ocean. It is the same thing as if, by some great revolution of the globe, our Eastern possessions were brought nearer to us. The voyage across the Pacific, the winds both for the Eastern and Western passage being fair and constant, is so expeditious and steady, that the arrival of the ships may be calculated almost with the accuracy of a mail coach. * Immense would be the traffic which would immediately begin to cover that ocean, by denomination Pacific. All the riches of India and of China would move towards America. The riches of Europe and of America would move towards Asia. Vast depôts would be formed at the great commercial towns which would immediately arise at the two extremities of the central canal;—the goods would be in a course of perpetual passage from the one depôt to the other;—and would be received by the ships, as they arrived, which were prepared to convey them to their ultimate destination.

Is it too much to hope, that China and Japan themselves, thus brought so much nearer the influence of European civilization—much more constantly and powerfully subject to its operation—would not be able to resist the salutary impression, but would soon receive important changes in ideas, arts, manners and institutions? The hope rests, at least, on such strong foundations, that it seems to rise even to certainty;—and then, what glorious results might be expected for the whole of Asia, that vast proportion of the earth, which, even in its most favoured parts, has been in all ages condemned to semi-barbarism, and the miseries of despotic power?

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* On the surprising facilities of this navigation, there is some interesting information given in an 'Account of an intended expedition into the South Seas, by private persons,' printed in the Appendix to the third volume of Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland. 'From the Bay of Panama,' says that document, 'ships are carried to the East Indies, by the great Trade wind, at the rate of above an hundred miles a day. From the East Indies to the South Seas, there are two passages.—One by the north, to sail to the latitude of 40° north, in order to get into the great West wind, which, about that latitude, blows ten months in the year; and which, being strong, carries vessels with quickness to the northern part of the coast of Mexico. From the extreme point of Mexico, in the north, there is a north wind which blows all the way to the Bay of Panama, which never varies, and which carries ships above a hundred miles a day, reaching to the distance of a hundred leagues from the coast.—The other passage is at 40° south, and is in all respects similar to that in the north, a land-wind blowing from the coast of Chili to the Bay of Panama, of the very same description with that which blows along the coast of Mexico.'

One thing, at leaſt, is certain, that South America, which ſtands ſo much in need of induſtrious inhabitants, would receive myriads of laborious Chineſe, who already ſwarm in all parts of the Eaſtern Archipelago in queſt of employment and of food. This, to her, would be an acquiſition of incredible importance: and the connexion thus formed between the two countries, would ſtill further tend to accelerate the acquiſition of enlightened views and civilized manners in China herſelf.

Such are a few of the reſults which there is reaſon to expect from a regulation of the affairs of South America. Never, perhaps, was an opportunity offered to a nation, of effecting ſo great a change in behalf of human kind, as Great Britain, from a wonderful combination of circumſtances, is now called upon, by ſo many motives, to help South America to accompliſh. The meaſure has, for a conſiderable number of years, been mingled, in her councils, among the number of her reſolves; and a ſhort hiſtory—which, from peculiar circumſtances, we are enabled to give with unuſual accuracy—cannot be without intereſt, of what has been done in preparation towards an event which will hereafter occupy ſo great a place in the hiſtory of the world.

Though projects of hoſtility—ſome of them for plunder, ſome for permanent conqueſt—had been undertaken, during the wars between this country and Spain, againſt particular parts of her Tranſatlantic dominions, the firſt time, we believe, that a general ſcheme of emancipation was preſented to the mind of a Britiſh miniſter, was in the beginning of 1790, when the meaſure was propoſed to Mr Pitt by General Miranda. It met, from that miniſter, with the moſt cordial reception;—and, as the diſpute reſpecting Nootka Sound was then ſubſiſting, it was reſolved, if Spain did not prevent hoſtilities by ſubmiſſion, to carry the plan into immediate execution. When an accommodation was effected, and peace at laſt decreed, Mr Pitt ſtill aſſured the General, that the ſcheme of emancipating South America was a meaſure that would not be loſt ſight of, but would infallibly engage the attention of every miniſter of this country.

The man by whom this important ſuggeſtion was made, and in whoſe breaſt the ſcheme of emancipation, if not firſt conceived, ſeems at leaſt to have been firſt matured, is a native of Caraccas in South America; deſcended from one of the principal families of the country. At the early age of 17, he repaired to Spain, and, by the influence of his family, obtained a captain's commiſſion in the Spaniſh army. Early ſmit by the love of letters, he was anxious to proceed to France for the proſecution of his education; but permiſſion was denied him; and he was foreed to

bring the masters, whom he could not procure in Spain, from France, at his own charges. It is an anecdote, not unworthy of record, that when the Inquisition ordered his books to be taken from him and burnt, he applied to Count O'Reilly, inspector general of the Spanish army, to see if the order could not be recalled; but the Inspector told him, that all he could do was to condole with him, for that the same misfortune had happened to himself.

When France and Spain resolved to take a share in the war which was carried on between Great Britain and her American colonies, it happened that Miranda was in that part of the Spanish army which was destined to cooperate with the French. Acting thus, and conversing with the members of a more enlightened nation than any he had yet seen, the ideas of the young American received that improvement after which he aspired; and, in a scene where the cause of liberty was the object of all men's zeal and enthusiasm, and in a country, the situation of which in so many respects resembled his own, a similar destiny for this last was naturally presented to his wishes. So deeply was the impression struck, that he has dedicated to this one design almost the whole of his life, and has been the prime mover in every scheme that has been proposed for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America.

After the renunciation, or rather the postponement of the design, on the part of Mr Pitt, the next project for changing the condition of South America, was started by the republican rulers of France; as part of their scheme for revolutionizing the whole of the Spanish dominions. But Miranda foresaw the dangers with which that design was pregnant,—and fortunately had sufficient influence to persuade its renunciation. To prepare the reader sufficiently for the particulars of this curious affair, it may not be useless to run over hastily the steps by which the General had been brought to the situation in which he then stood.

At the termination of the American war, he resigned his situation in the service of Spain, and repaired to Europe, with a view to study the institutions of the most enlightened nations, and to draw from them instruction for the benefit of his native country. For this purpose, he came first to Great Britain, * and proceeded afterwards

* There is a curious proof of the notice which he and his cause attracted in this country, even at this early period, in the 'Political Herald and Review' for the year 1785, pp. 29, 30.

'The flame which was kindled in North America,' says the writer in that work, 'as was foreseen, has made its way into the American dominions

terwards to Prussia, Austria, Italy, Greece, and a part of Turkey. He then proceeded to Russia, where he met with Prince Potemkin at Cherson, whose notice he attracted; and by him was introduced to the Empress at Kiow. A native of Spain, travelling in search of knowledge, and improved by it, appeared to her in the light of a phenomenon. She invited him to remain in Russia; for, in Spain, she said, he would be burnt;—Spain was not a country for him. When Miranda opened to her, in reply, the views to which he had devoted himself in behalf of his country, she manifested the strongest interest in the accomplishment of his scheme, and assured him, in case of his success, she would be the foremost to support the independence of South America. She transmitted a circular letter to her ambassadors in Europe, to afford him her imperial protection every where; and gave him an invitation to draw upon her treasury for his personal support.

It was after this tour through Europe, in which Miranda spent several years, that he returned, by the way of France, to England; and being, by his friend Governor Pownal, introduced to Mr Pitt, proposed to him the plan, of which the submission of Spain on the question at issue prevented the execution. At the time when the prospect was thus, for an indefinite period, closed upon him in England, and the first promising movements of liberty in France were attracting the curious from every quarter of the world, Miranda returned to witness the great scenes which were there passing, and to obtain, if possible, from France, in her new situation, the same favour to South America, which in her old she had bestowed upon the United States. By his companions in arms, whom he had recently known in America, he was speedily drawn into some connexion with the great leaders at that time in public affairs; and when the revolution was first called upon to draw the sword, he was invited and prevailed upon to take a command in her armies.

dominions of Spain. 'That jealousy which confined the appointments of government in Spanish America to native Spaniards, and established other distinctions between these and their descendants on the other side the Atlantic, has been a two-edged sword, and cut two ways. If it has hitherto preserved the sovereignty of Spain in those parts, it has sown the seeds of a deep resentment among the people. Conferences are held, combinations are formed in secret among a race of men whom we shall distinguish by the appellation of Spanish Provincials. The example of North America is the great subject of discourse, and the grand object of imitation. In London, we are well assured, there is, at this moment, a Spanish American of great consequence, and possessed of the confidence of his fellow-citizens, who aspires to the glory of being the deliverer of his country.'

It was while he was serving with Dumourier in the Netherlands, that the scheme for revolutionizing Spain and her colonies was first conceived by the republican leaders. It was communicated to Dumourier by Brissot, in a letter which we have now before us, dated Paris, 28th November 1792, in the following terms. ' L'Espagne se murit pour la liberté ; son gouvernement reprend ses preparatifs ; il faut donc faire ses preparatifs pour reussir ; ou plutôt pour y naturalizer la liberté. Il faut faire cette revolution et dans l'Espagne Européenne, et dans l'Espagne Americaine. Tout doit coincider Le sort de cette derniere revolution depend d'un homme ; vous le connoissez, vous l'estimez ; c'est Miranda. Dernierement les ministres chercherent par qui ils remplaceraient Desparbés à St Domingue—un trait de lumiere m'a frappé ; j'ai dit, *nommez Miranda*—Miranda d'abord aura bientôt appaisé les miserables querelles des colonies ; il aura bientôt mis à la raison ces blancs si turbulents, et il deviendra l'idole des gens de couleur. Mais ensuite avec quelle facilité ne pourra-t-il pas faire soulever, soit les îles Espagnoles, soit le continent Americain qu'ils possedent ? A la tête de plus de 12,000 hommes de troupes de ligne qui sont maintenant à St Domingue, de 10,000 à 15,000 braves Mulatres que lui fourniront nos colonies, avec quelle facilité ne pourra-t-il pas envahir les possessions Espagnoles ? Ayant d'ailleurs une flotte à ses ordres, et lorsque les Espagnols n'ont rien à lui opposer. Le nom de Miranda lui vaudra une armée ; et ses talens, son courage, son genie, tout nous repond du succès..... Les ministres sont tous d'accord sur ce choix, mais ils craignent que vous ne refusiez de ceder Miranda, d'autant plus que vous l'avez choisi pour remplacer Labourdonnaye. J'ai promis ce matin à Monge que je vous ecrirais, et il m'a donné sa parole qu'il nommerait Miranda Gouverneur-General si vous consentiez à le laisser partir. Hatez vous donc d'envoyer votre consentment. Vous ajouterai-je que notre excellent ami Gensonné est du même avis—il vous en ecrira demain. Claviere et Petion sont enchantés de cette idée. '

It will be readily acknowledged, there was here wherewithal to dazzle a man of ordinary ambition. Yet was the project damped, and finally renounced, by means of Miranda, who began to fear that the revolution was proceeding too fast, and too far. In the letter which he wrote to Brissot, in answer to the communication of his proposal, he contents himself with starting difficulties. ' Le plan,' says he, ' que vous formez dans votre lettre est réellement grand et magnifique ; mais je ne sais pas si l'execution serait sure, ou même probable. Pour ce qui regarde le continent Hispano-Americain, et leurs îles, je suis parfaitement instruit et en etat de former une opinion exacte. Mais pour tout

tout ce qui concerne les îles Françaises et leur situation actuelle, je ne connois presque rien du tout, et il me serait, par consequent, impossible de former une opinion juste la dessus. Comme dans votre plan celle-ci est la base de toute l'operation, puisque c'est de colonies Françaises que doit partir la force agissante pour mettre en mouvement le peuple du continent oppose, il faut que vous sayons *bien surs* que cette Donnée est vraie et positive.—Il me parait aussi que ma nomination et mon depart pour St Domingue seroit le signal d'alarme pour la cour de Madrid, et pour celle de St James's, et que les effets s'en feroient bientôt apercevoir à Cadiz et à Portsmouth, ce qui mettroit de nouveaux obstacles à l'entreprise, qui, d'ailleurs, est trop grande, trop belle, et trop interessante, pour la gater ou pour la faire echouer par une faute de prevoyance dans le commencement.' After some further correspondence and consultation, the pressure of affairs cooperating with the discouragement offered by Miranda, the flattering project was for the time relinquished.

During some years subsequent to this occurrence, the matter was sunk in oblivion amid the violent struggles which agitated Europe. Many months had not elapsed when the reign of Robespierre began; and Miranda, with so many other virtuous men, were buried in the dungeons of the revolution. Though tried, and clearly acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, which declared that not a shadow of suspicion attached to him, he was still detained in prison, and escaped the guillotine only by one of those accidents by which so many others were delivered up to it. When he recovered his liberty, under the party that assumed the government after the death of Robespierre, he might still have become a leading man in the revolution, and was offered the command of an army. His answer however was, that although he had fought for *liberty*, it was not his purpose to fight for *conquest*: If France would establish a free and moderate government, retire within her antient limits, and sincerely offer peace to the whole world, he would willingly contend for her against all her enemies. This remarkable answer rests on as remarkable an authority; for Miranda had the fortitude to enlarge upon the same ideas in a pamphlet, and to publish them at the very moment (1795) in Paris.

About the same time, or a little after, Miranda was met at Paris by deputies and commissioners from Mexico, and the other principal provinces of South America, who had been sent to Europe for the purpose of concerting with him the measures to be pursued for accomplishing the independence of their country. It was decided accordingly, that Miranda should, in their name, again repair to England, and make such offers to the British government

vernment as, it was hoped, might induce it to lend them the assistance requisite for the great object of their wishes. The instrument, which was drawn up, and put into the hand of their representative, as the document to the British government, of the proposals of the South Americans, is too remarkable an evidence of the views and plans of the leading members of the South American communities, not to deserve at the present moment the most serious attention.

1. The first article states, that the Hispano-American colonies, having for the most part resolved to proclaim their independence, were induced to address themselves to the government of Great Britain, in the confidence she would not refuse them that assistance which Spain herself, in the midst of peace, had not declined extending to the British colonies in America.

2. The second article stipulates the sum of thirty millions Sterling, which South America would pay to Great Britain for the assistance required.

3. The third article sates the amount of the British force which was deemed requisite.

4. The fourth article it is proper to present in the words of the document itself. ' Une alliance defensive formée entre l'Angleterre, les Etats Unis d'Amerique, et l'Amerique Meridionale, est tellement recommandée par la nature des choses, par la situation geographique de chacun des trois pays, par les produits, l'industrie, par les besoins, les mœurs, et la charactere de ces trois nations, qu'il est impossible que cette alliance ne soit pas de longue durée; surtout si on prend soin de la consolider par l'analogie dans la forme politique des trois gouvernemens, c'est-à-dire, par la jouissance d'une liberté civile, sagement entendue;—ou pourroit même dire avec confiance, que c'est le seul espoir qui reste à la liberté, audacieusement outragée par les maximes detestables, avouées par la republique Française. C'est le seul moyen encore de former une balance de pouvoir capable de contenir l'ambition destructive et devastation du système Français.'

5. The fifth article relates to a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and South America.

6. The sixth article stipulates the opening of the navigation between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, by the isthmus of Panama, as well as by the lake of Nicaraguay, and the guarantee of its freedom to the British nation.

7. The seventh article respects the arrangement of the commerce between the different parts of South America itself; proposed to be left on its present footing, till the assemblage of deputies from the different provinces of the continent can arrange the terms of their union.

8.

8. The eighth article points to some project to be devised, of a connexion between the bank of England and those of Lima and Mexico, for the purposes of mutual support, and of giving England the advantage of that command of the precious metals which the country supplying them might have it in its power to yield.

9. 10. The ninth and tenth articles relate to the project of alliance between South America and the United States. The principal points are, the ceding to the United States of the Floridas, the Mississippi being proposed as the most adviseable boundary between the two nations, and the stipulation of a small military force from the Anglo-Americans, to aid in the establishment of the independence.

11. The eleventh article, respecting the islands, states the plan of resigning all those which belong to the Spaniards, excepting only Cuba, the possession of which is rendered necessary, by the situation of the Havannah commanding the passage from the Gulph of Mexico.

This document is dated Paris, the 22d of December, 1797. The proposal transmitted to Mr Pitt, for the return of General Miranda to this country, was acceded to with alacrity; and the General had a conference with that minister in January following. It accorded with the plans of Mr Pitt, at that time, to enter with promptitude into the scheme proposed for the emancipation of South America. The outline of the proceedings was fully agreed upon; and, so far had the preparations advanced, that General Miranda, in a letter to Mr Hamilton, the much lamented legislator of the United States, dated 6th April 1798, thought himself authorised to write in the following terms. 'Celle-ci vous sera remise, mon cher et respectable ami, par mon compatriote Don *** *****, chargé des depeches de la plus haute importance pour le President des Etats Unis; il vous dira confidentiellement ce que vous voudrez apprendre sur ce sujet. Il parait que le moment de notre emancipation approche;—et que l'etablissement de la liberté sur tout le continent du nouveau monde nous est confié par la Providence. Le seul danger que je prevois c'est l'introduction des principes Français qui empoisonneraient la liberté dans son berceau, et finiraient par detruire bientôt la votre.' Nay, so far did the arrangements advance, that, on the 19th of October, he wrote to the same gentleman in the following terms. 'Vos souhaits sont en quelque sorte remplis, puisque on est convenu ici que, d'un cote, on n'employera point aux operations terrestres des troupes Anglaises, vu que les forces auxiliaires de terre devront etre uniquement Americaines, tandis que de l'autre, la marine sera purement Anglaise. Tout est applani, et on attend seulement le *fiat* de votre illustre President pour partir comme l'eclair.'

l'eclair.' In another letter, of the same date, to General Knox, he says, 'Quel plaisir n'ai-je pas reçu, mon tres cher General, en apprenant votre nomination dans l'armée continentale des Etats Unis d'Amerique? Il parait que nos souhaits vont enfin s'accomplir, et que toutes les circonstances possibles se reunissent dans ce moment-ci en notre faveur. Veuille la Providence nous communiquer assez de sagesse pour en tirer un parti avantageux.'

The proposal was, that North America should furnish 10,000 troops, and the British government agreed to find money and ships. But the President Adams declined to transmit an immediate answer, and the measure was, in consequence, postponed.

In the beginning of 1801, during Lord Sidmouth's administration, the project was again revived. The plans of government to be recommended to the people of South America, were considered and approved; even the military operations were sketched and arranged; and the preparations far advanced for the expedition. The preliminaries, however, of the peace of Amiens were signed; and the measure was put off to a future opportunity.

When war was again declared against France in 1803, the business of South America formed one of the principal designs of ministers; and measures were taken to carry it into effect, the moment that the peace which still subsisted with Spain should be broken. This event did not occur till 1804, when Mr Pitt was again at the head of administration. The measure was now prosecuted with zeal; Lord Melville and Sir Home Popham were employed in arranging with General Miranda the whole details of procedure; * when the execution was again suspended by the affairs of Europe, and by the hopes and exertions of the third coalition.

The prospect thus appearing shut upon them in Europe, the South American exiles from the provinces of Caraccas and Santa Fée, residing in the United States of America, and in the island of Trinidad, pressed General Miranda, and at last prevailed upon him, to quit his residence in this country, and make an effort in their behalf through the medium of America alone. Though the politics of Britain presented to him, at the moment, no prospect on her part, of active assistance, they appeared, at least, to promise the security, that no body of French, or of Spanish

* On this point the reader may derive satisfaction, by consulting the trial of Sir Home Popham; the evidence of Lord Melville at pp. 153 to 164; and the declarations of Sir Home at pp. 91, 92, 94, 95, 100; and an Appendix note A. See "Trial of Sir Home Popham," printed for Richardson, Royal Exchange, 1807.

Spanish troops, should cross the Atlantic, to confirm the dominion of the enemies of Britain. In these circumstances, he was induced to think that no great force,—that nothing more, in short, than what might be requisite to impose respect upon the small number of troops in the Spanish garrisons, and to afford some appearance of security to the people, was, in the known condition of the public mind, required to effect the revolution; and at the same time, the disputes subsisting between the United States of America and Spain, respecting Louisiana, afforded him a hope in that quarter of all the assistance which the occasion demanded. With a full understanding on the part of the government here, and even, as it would seem, with promise of support, he proceeded to America; but on his arrival there found, to his mortification, that a compromise on the subject of Louisiana had already taken place, and that the *public* aid of government was not to be obtained. He was received, however, with cordiality and distinction by the President and Secretary; and, from various quarters, received encouragement to suppose, that, by private exertions and resources, such means might be got together, as, with the help of good fortune, might be adequate to the enterprize. Though the government of the United States, from the obvious motive of exculpating themselves in the eyes of France, thought proper afterwards to disclaim all knowledge of the transaction,—and even to order the prosecution of two of the persons who appeared to have been principally involved in it,—it came out upon the trial, to the conviction of the Jury, who thereupon acquitted the parties, that the government had been privy to all the proceedings of Miranda, and, by never so much as whispering their disapprobation, appeared of necessity, both to him and to his agents, to favour, though they deemed it impolitic at the time to countenance, his undertaking.

The particulars of the expedition to Caraccas, it is necessary for us entirely to pass over. * It failed, feeble as were the means employed in it, chiefly from the intelligence which had been treacherously conveyed to the Spaniards, and by the misconduct of the American shipmasters, over whom the General had not sufficient controul. But it had this in it of benefit, that the careful

* The principal facts, together with the proclamations of General Miranda, documents of importance in forming a judgement of the whole bearings of this affair, may be found in a pamphlet, which we recommend as containing some correct information, not to be found any where else, entitled, 'Additional Reasons for our immediately emancipating Spanish America. By William Burke.'

ful protection of persons and property which Miranda maintained, removed every shadow of prejudice which the industry of the Spanish agents had been able to raise respecting the purity of his intentions; and had not the British commanders, who seconded his views, been induced to withdraw their support, and to urge the dereliction of the enterprize, by the false intelligence which reached the West Indies of the conclusion of peace by Lord Lauderdale,—at any rate, had our government lent a very small assistance,—not a doubt can be entertained that the province of Caraccas would have then declared its independence. *

The part which our country had in this expedition, it is still of some importance to explain. The prospect of the vast advantages to Great Britain, from the independence of that part of South America, which was the object of Miranda's immediate views, induced the British Admiral on the station, Sir Alexander Cochrane, to enter into a formal stipulation for certain means of operation

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* That this was the opinion of the best informed among the Spaniards themselves, appears from the following extract of an intercepted letter from Don Dionisio Franco, director of the King's Revenues at Caraccas, to the governor of Cumana. 'Un des hommes,' says Depons *(Voyage à la Terre Ferme, t. ii. p. 293)* 'un des hommes de l'Espagne qui connoit le mieux les interets de sa nation.'

'*Caraccas, 16th of August*, 1806.

'Miranda, despicable indeed, if left to his private resources alone, 'will, it appears to me, give us more to do than what we thought, 'if supported, as he appears to be, by the English; although the as- 'sistance they have until now given him be reduced to the not 'disapproving only of his enterprise.'

'He effected his landing at Coro without any resistance, because 'the garrison of that interesting point, was reduced to 200 fusileers 'of the militia alone; and although they might have armed more 'than 1000 men, they had no arms for the purpose; and in the same 'case, we find, are now all the inhabitants of these provinces.

'With this information, the Captain-General of the province has 'marched with all the armed force he could collect; but it will be 'a month before he can reach Coro; in which place, it is probable 'he will find him already entrenched, and in a situation to make good 'his retreat. That, in my opinion, will be the least of the evils 'which may happen to us; because, if the English give him any 'assistance, let it be ever so little, and offer him support, his situa- 'tion is the most advantageous of all those he could have chosen in 'all these coasts, as the peninsula of Paraguana may afford them a 'situation to establish another Gibraltar, as long as they are masters 'of the sea; and it may happen that this spark of fire, that appears 'nothing, may finish *by devouring the whole Continent*, &c.

(Signed) DIONISIO FRANCO.'

tion he was to afford to the undertaking, and certain advantages which were to be yielded to his country in return. The governors, both of Trinidad and Barbadoes, allowed the General to recruit in these islands, and even from the militia. * But after a little time, the Admiral wrote to him, that 'by recent instructions received from England, he was directed to limit the assistance General Miranda was to receive from him, to protection from the naval force of the enemy,—to prevent succours being landed,—and to secure his reembarkation, in the event of his being obliged to leave the shore.' It is probable, that the negotiations at Paris, in which the ministers were then engaged, and their hopes of peace, were the sole motives of the reserve which they embraced on this occasion. That they had by no means determined against the great plan of emancipation, as some of their enemies have been busy to insinuate, we are happy to be able to prove, by the succeeding passage of the same letter. 'I am further directed,' says the Admiral, 'to send, by a fast sailing vessel, full details of the situation in which the continent of South America now stands, in order that his Majesty's ministers may finally decide as to the measures they may take. In consequence of the above,' he

* The memorandum of Governor Hislop for the commanding officers of the corps of militia in Trinidad, is so expressive of his honourable views on the occasion, that it is worthy of being read.

'It being desirable that a corps of light cavalry, and of infantry, and of artillery, should be formed, to be put under the command of the Count de Rouvray, as Colonel of the former, and of Colonel Kingston of the infantry, and Captain Harvey of the artillery, who have volunteered their services with General Miranda;—the Governor will sanction, for this purpose, the offers of volunteers from each corps of militia, not however exceeding, in number, twenty out of each hundred. Commanding officers of corps, and other officers, are expected, not in any manner to discourage the voluntary offers of such of their men as may be desirous of going upon the proposed service; from the result of which, the most important benefits may be expected to result to the British Empire, and in a peculiar degree to this colony; the prosperity of which, cannot fail to be raised to the highest pitch by the success of the enterprise; which, under the skilful guidance of an experienced Captain, such as General Miranda has proved himself to be, cannot be doubted; at the same time that the reflection of the possibility of their bitterest enemies getting possession beforehand of the Spanish neighbouring dominions, would not only be a most serious stab to the interests and welfare of Great Britain, but would place this island in a state of imminent danger; and, at all events, blast the hopes of its future prosperity. These are considerations worthy of every reflecting mind.'

he adds, 'a schooner attends Captain Dundas of the Elephant, to Coro, which schooner will receive on board your despatches, and immediately proceed to England.' He concludes by saying, 'I think it proper to give you this early information, lest you should be led to expect a military force to arrive for your support,—a circumstance I am ignorant of being in the contemplation of his Majesty's government; but, should any arrive, you may depend on its being forwarded to you without loss of time.' In another letter, ten days later, he says, 'I wish I could send you five or six regiments; and if the negotiations for peace blow off, I do not despair of a force arriving from England, to place you in perfect security.'

The extraordinary events which immediately followed the rupture of the negotiations at Paris, and the removal from his Majesty's councils which soon succeeded of the ministers by whom that negotiation was conducted, afforded *them* no opportunity of recommencing any operations for the emancipation of South America; and the facility with which they allowed themselves to be drawn into the support of the schemes of conquest, so injudiciously undertaken by Sir Home Popham, deranged all their views with regard to that great object of policy. Of the memorable expedition to Buenos Ayres, the history is too well known to require any recapitulation in this place. Its effects, with regard to the great and salutary plan of liberation, have been twofold. It has certainly shaken, and that violently, the confidence of the American people in the British government. They had been told, from the highest authority, that the views of that government were solely to aid them in procuring their independence; yet the first army they behold, comes both for conquest and for plunder. * However,

* A proclamation, transmitted by Lord Melville, then secretary of state, and circulated on the coasts of Spanish America by the governor of Trinidad, in 1797, calling upon the inhabitants *to resist the oppressive authority of the Spanish government*, assures them, 'that measures have been taken to support them by means of the British naval force, and to supply them with arms and ammunition, merely to enable them to maintain their commercial independence; *without any desire, on the part of the King of England, to acquire any right of sovereignty over them, or to interfere with their civil, political, or religious rights;* unless they themselves should in any degree solicit his protection.' Let us consider the effect which this proposal was calculated to make upon the minds of the people of South America, when contrasted with the conduct directed to be pursued in the instructions to the sailants of Buenos Ayres. In the Instructions to General

ever, it has had this fortunate effect, that it has given us, nationally, a much juster idea than we formerly possessed, of the value of the South American population. It has turned the public curiosity more forcibly toward that quarter of the world; and it has afforded us some precious evidence of the desire which pervades South America to shake off the yoke of a foreign government, and assume the guidance of its own affairs.

The men who had succeeded to power, when General Miranda returned to England, were prepared to embark in the scheme with real energy. After various delays, a force was at last assembled; and it has been oftener than once publicly stated, we believe with perfect accuracy, that the expedition which was prepared at Cork last summer, and which was to be commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, was intended to cooperate with Miranda in the long projected measure of emancipating South America; and, had not the extraordinary revolution which broke out in Spain given to those forces a different destination, it is probable that, by this time, that important measure would at length have been accomplished.

We are now once more at peace with the Spanish nation; and, of course, all idea of using force to detach her colonies is out of the question. We are not only at peace,—but we are in alliance with her. A generous sympathy with a people contending for their independence, has had at least as much share in producing that alliance, as our common hostility to their oppressor. We are bound, therefore, by every consideration of national honour, to abstain, while this struggle lasts, from any step which might admit of being construed into an injury or offence to our allies. If the Spaniards, therefore, should succeed in repelling their invaders, and should remain in peace and alliance with us, we must renounce, of course, all notion of emanci-

General Whitelocke (see the documents published in the Appendix to Whitelocke's Trial, p. 8.) is the following passage. 'With the force above stated, you will proceed to execute the service entrusted to you, *by the reduction of the province of Buenos Ayres under the authority of his Majesty.*' In the next page, he is directed 'not to introduce into the government any other change than that which must necessarily arise *from the substitution of his Majesty's authority for that of the King of Spain.*' In the Instructions likewise to General Crauford respecting Chili, he is commanded to make no other changes 'than that of placing the country under his Majesty's protection and government;' and told, that 'the form of the former government is to be preserved, subject only to the changes which *the substitution of his Majesty's authority for that of the King of Spain* may render inevitable.'

pating her colonies without her consent. Incalculably beneficial as such an event would be for us, and even for Spain herself, and impossible as it might be for any efforts of hers long to prevent its occurrence, still we conceive, that the relations of peace and amity in which we should stand with that power, would prevent *us* from interfering to promote it, and tie up our hands from attempting to separate from her those dependencies, upon which she still set a value, although she might really derive no benefit from their possession, and might be guilty of the greatest oppression with regard to them. If it were possible, therefore, for us to entertain those pleasing views on the probable issue of the present contest in Spain, to which some of our more sanguine countrymen seem still to adhere, we should only have to say, that we should trust with some confidence, that the same spirit and intelligence which had been triumphant in Europe, would be just and generous in America; and that the amended government and enlightened councils of regenerated Spain, would relax the severity of its controul over its remote dependencies, and yield, spontaneously, to its Transatlantic children, that emancipation for which they have hitherto relied, rather on the weakness, than the beneficence, of their mother country.

These, however, alas! are speculations in which it appears to us that no sober man can now allow himself to indulge. The fate of Spain, we think, is decided; and that fine and misguided country has probably yielded, by this time, to the fate which has fallen on the greater part of continental Europe. Her European dominions have yielded already to the unrelaxing grasp of the insatiable conqueror; and his ambition and cupidity have no doubt already scented their quarry in her American possessions. At this moment, we have no doubt, his restless intriguers are at work to poison the pure fountains of patriotism and concord in these distant regions; and forces are preparing to trample down those sparks of independence which the slightest stirring would now spread into an unquenchable blaze. A moment is yet left us, to resolve on what may soon be impracticable.

The question, therefore, we humbly conceive, is not, now, whether *Spain*—a friendly, a neutral, or even a hostile power—shall retain her colonies, to their oppression, and our great disadvantage? but whether these colonies shall pass, with all their vast capabilities, into the possession of *France*;—whether these immense and productive regions, the soil of so many hopes for the human race, shall be turned to the beneficent purposes for which they are fitted by nature,—or whether they shall be seized by the arch enemy of the liberty and peace of mankind, and employed as an aliment of lawless power and universal oppression.

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With regard to Great Britain, the question is not, whether she shall secure to herself an immense advantage, or neglect so to secure it; but, whether she shall take it to herself, or give it to her unrelenting foe,—her foe, already so powerful, and so sure instantly to turn against her those potent means of which her negligence has allowed him to avail himself.

Bonaparte, by seizing the Spanish monarchy, has now brought the matter of deliberation to this narrow point,—Whether the colonies shall remain, as before, attached to that monarchy,—in other words, shall become his property;—or whether those colonies shall be enabled, under the protection of Great Britain, to constitute themselves a free and independent nation.

We do not suppose it will be objected, that we could, as another expedient, make a conquest of South America for ourselves; for we do not believe there is an individual in the country who thinks it would be advantageous to us as a conquest, or that the business of defence is not at present enough for us, without that of conquest, even if it could be supposed, which nobody we apprehend is now credulous enough to suppose, that it would be an easy conquest. We mention this idea, therefore, only for the purpose of setting it aside.

There is another idea, however, which deserves the most profound and most respectful attention. If the King of Spain, or rather the late King of Spain, is stripped of his dominions in Europe, ought not his dominions in America to be preserved for him? With regard to this point, it is an unlucky circumstance to begin with,—that this ex-monarch is in the hands of Bonaparte. However, we are by no means convinced, that this is a difficulty which would be absolutely unsurmountable; and our answer is, that, provided care is taken to secure liberty, by diminishing sufficiently the power left in the hands of the King, and placing a sufficient share in the hands of the people, we know of nothing so desirable as the establishment of a mixed monarchy for the government of South America. The nation itself, however, there is reason to believe, would prefer a constitution resembling that of their neighbours in the United States; and if this preference should be very general and very decided, we hope there are no such bigoted partizans of royalty among us, as to think that we should take up arms to force them to resign it; and thus foment a civil war in South America, (the inevitable effect of which would be, to throw the country into the arms of France), merely to prevent a great and remote nation from choosing their own form of government. If, however, the people could be brought to submit to it, few things would afford us more satisfaction, than that a throne should be erected in South America, first for the aged ex-monarch of Spain,

andthen for his son; for we can see no reason for respecting the feelings of the latter exclusively, and abetting all the revolutionary practices which have been used to dethrone the former.

At all events, however, it is our decided opinion, that Great Britain is called upon, by the most imperious considerations of self-preservation, utterly to reject and oppose any proposition *which may be made by Bonaparte*—and we are by no means sure that it will not be made—for the erection of such a kingdom, either for Charles, or for Ferdinand. If such an arrangement were once to be adopted, who, we would ask, would be the persons who would accompany Charles and Ferdinand to South America, and have the principal influence in their government?—Persons who leave behind, their immense estates and dignities in Spain,—and that Spain in the hands of Bonaparte. But, is there any thing more that a skilful intriguer would require to effect his purpose? Let him but affect the generosity of preserving to these men their estates and dignities in Spain; and is it not visible to every man, what influence he has it in his power to acquire immediately over them? Let him persuade them (and he is a great master in such arts) that he is not their enemy; that there ought to be no hostility, but rather a cordial union, between the empire of New Spain, and the empire of Old; that there is no incompatibility between their holding their antient and beloved patrimonies and dignities in Old Spain, while they faithfully served their master in the New; that it is for the interest of both countries they should be united, as it were, into one—and no way so effectual as an intercommunity of properties and dignities;—let him, by these means, teach the great men who would follow the monarchs, to fix their hopes and affections upon their antient condition and property in Spain,—and in these silken and golden cords he would hold them bound as fast as by chains of adamant. Then would the affairs of South America be governed entirely at the nod of Bonaparte; and it would be easy for him, under ready pretexts, to introduce into that country his troops, till the time at last should arrive when he could declare it his own.

In endeavouring to form any opinion upon the nature of the change which should be attempted in these fine countries, the first thing to be taken into the account is the disposition of the people. On this point we have already produced pretty decisive evidence: but it may be proper to bring together a few additional circumstances, which seem to us to place that matter in the clearest point of view. Depons, of whose work on Caraccas and the contiguous provinces, the reader will find a very full account at p. 378. Vol. VIII. of this Journal, gives a history of an insurrection against the government, which he is extremely

extremely anxious to represent as nothing serious;—an anxiety which follows as a matter of course, from the strong disposition to flatter the Spanish government with which he evidently set out in. Yet, even he lets many expressions escape him, which indicate the strong feeling he had of the spirit of disunion which existed between the population of South America and the government of Spain. 'Malgré tous ces points d'appui,' says he, (p. 223. Vol. I.) 'de la souveraineté Espagnole dans les Indes Orientales, elle fut, en 1797, *sur le point d'eprouver une secousse dangereuse* dans la province de Venezuela.' A little further on, p. 229. he says, 'Tous les interrogatoires que subirent les accusés, toutes les depositions des temoins prouverent que le soulevement avoit pour objet *de detruire le gouvernement actuel*, et de le remplacer par un gouvernement republicain; *de ne plus reconnoître la souveraineté de l'Espagne, et de proclamer l'independence.*' At the bottom of the same page he adds, 'Si cet affreux projet n'eût avorté, *c'en etoit fait des possessions Espagnoles.*'

The evidence to the same purpose of our own officers upon the business of Buenos Ayres, is clear and unvarying. In a letter from Sir Samuel Achmuty to Mr Windham, dated Monte Video, March 6th 1808, he says, 'The seizure of the viceroy by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, an event certainly very important in itself, first gave me an insight into the views of many of the *leading men*, and convinced me that, however inimical they were to us, *they were still more so to their present government.*'* In the same despatch he says again, 'To the reports of this capture' (of the viceroy) 'were added others still more important,' &c. It was added, that the royal court of Audienza was abolished, the King's authority set aside, and the Spanish colours no longer hoisted. These reports were circulated with avidity; and *I soon found that they were acceptable to the principal part of the inhabitants.* The persons who before appeared hostile and inveterate, now pressed me to advance a corps to Buenos Ayres; and assured me, *if I would acknowledge their independence*, and promise them the protection of the English government, the place would submit to me.' Still further, in the same despatch Sir Samuel says, 'The party now in power are mostly natives of Spain, in the principal offices of church and state, and devoted to the Spanish government. It has been their policy, to inflame the minds of the lower order against the English, by every species of exaggeration and falsehood, and to lead them to such acts of atrocity as may preclude the possibility of any communication with us. The second party consists of *natives*

* See Trial of General Whitelocke, Appendix, p. 51.

tives of the country, with some Spaniards that are *settled* in it. *The oppression of the mother country, has made them most anxious to shake off the Spanish yoke.* They aim at *following the steps of the North Americans*, and erecting an independent state. If we would promise them independence, *they would instantly revolt against the government, and join us with the great mass of the inhabitants.* But though nothing less than independence will perfectly satisfy them, they would prefer our government, *either to their present anarchy*, or to the Spanish yoke, provided we would promise not to give up the country to Spain at a peace. *But until such a promise is made, we must expect to find them open or secret enemies.'* Even in a copy of the instructions of government to General Crawford, it is said, 'The ruling consideration which long restrained his Majesty from invading any part of the enemy's territory in South America, was the danger of erecting in that country, *from the well-known impatience of the government felt by the inhabitants*, a spirit of insurrection leading to the most sanguinary excesses.'* This is so absolute and strong, and from so high a quarter, that, taken in conjunction with the preceding testimonies, with the evidence furnished by the very pamphlet, of which in this article we have given an account, and by those deputies who came to Europe for the purpose of forwarding the object of emancipation, and of whose instructions to General Miranda, as the agent of South America, we have given a full detail;—it affords abundant proof of the disposition of the people to break off their dependence upon the government of Spain, and to become a nation in their own right. Many other proofs, however, might still be added. In a note, for example, to the edition in 1801 of *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe, pendant les Regnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI.*, t. ii. p. 293, is the following passage: 'Pendant la derniere guerre, j'ai traversé le gouvernement de Carraque, et j'ai vu, dans cette fertile province, le mecontentment porté au plus haut degré.'† In another note, in the same

* See this copy of Instructions, signed by Mr Windham, *ibid.* p. 29. It is perhaps necessary to remark, that it is the edition of Whitelock's Trial, taken by Blanchard and Ramsay, which is here always quoted.

† In the same note, the writer, who is Segur l'Ainé, tells us an anecdote, highly characteristic, and which might often be paralleled nearer home. He had remarked a particular instance of absurd and oppressive policy which, to use his own words, 'arrêtoit à la fois l'agriculture, la population, et la civilization. Ayant communiqué,' he adds, 'ces reflections à un moine inquisiteur, fort consideré, le pere me repondit; "La province *est bien comme elle est*, et *rend* asse:

same volume (p. 302.), it is said, after mentioning the spirit of revolt manifested by the Indians, 'Les creoles eux-mêmes paroissent peu attachés à la metropole. J'en ai entendu plusieurs qui, en parlant des Espagnoles, les appelloient *forestiers etrangers.*'

The disposition of the people, then, we may conclude with safety, is adverse to every idea of dependence, but probably not yet attached to any particular plan of free government. It is pretty generally known, that they are enamoured of the happiness and prosperity which the Anglo-Americans appear to have procured to themselves; and the most precise conception they have formed of any line of conduct for themselves, is probably that of following the steps of those envied neighbours.

Such, then, is the foundation on which we have to proceed; and such are the materials with which we have to work. The great question now succeeds—with regard to the *manner* of the operation itself. In all questions of political change, there are two dangers, of an opposite description, to be considered. The first is the danger of doing too little; the second that of doing too much. The first is by far the most common error; as timidity is a much more universal and powerful source of human misery than rashness; although the evils produced by the second, are much more simultaneous, and, for the moment, much more formidable.

As there are few evils, in the mixed scene of human affairs, without some correspondent good, so the calamitous termination or change of the Spanish monarchy in Europe, has removed a considerable number of difficulties from the great measure of accomplishing the emancipation of South America. No contest is now to be maintained against the troops of Spain, or the ministers of the Spanish government, opposing the change. As those ministers can have no hopes whatever of transferring the government of the country to themselves individually, and as they will now look upon that country as their home, there is every reason to believe that they will cordially cooperate in effecting any beneficent arrangement in its general affairs.

assez d'argent au roi; si, en laissant plus de liberté à ces gens-là, la prosperité et la population croissoient, bientôt *la colonie secoueroit le joug de la metropole*, comme les colonies Anglaises." Revolté de cette reponse, je lui repliquai, en le quittant: "Mon pere, je ne vois qu'un moyen à ajouter a ceux qu' approuve votre prevoyante politique; ce sera de tuer les enfans nouveaux nés, si, par malheur, la fecondité devient trop grande, et l'accroissement de la population trop dangereux.'

How much more happy, then, is this situation than that in which the Dutch effected their independence, when they revolted against this same monarchy of Spain? How much more happy than that in which the Swiss revolted against the house of Austria; or that in which the North Americans revolted against the monarchy of Great Britain;—than that, even, in which the people of Great Britain revolted against the despotism of the Stuarts? Yet all of these experiments turned out well; and secured, at least for a long time, a greater share of human happiness within the sphere of their operation, than has ever been exhibited among any similar portions of the race. No difficulty appears to have been experienced, in any of those instances, in restraining the excesses of popular violence. How absurd is it, then, because *one* experiment—that of France—has failed, to entertain a prejudice against all changes of government, however urgent the circumstances which call for them; when so many more have succeeded, and above all, when the French attempt affords such instruction with regard to the causes of its failure, that the same event can hardly ever happen again?

These successful experiments afford the most important instruction for the right conduct of the change which is meditated for South America. Let us select that of Holland for an example. The South Americans can hardly choose a wiser; and it possesses this remarkable point of resemblance, that it too was a revolt against the Spanish government. What happened when the Dutch declared their independence? All those offices and powers, which more immediately emanated from the Spanish monarchy, ceased to exist. These were, the office of viceroy or governor, the great military commands, the office of intendant or master of the revenue, and some others. But, besides these, there were other offices and powers, which might more properly be considered as emanating from the country. These were, the magistracies of towns and districts, the burgomasters, the officers of peace and of justice, the barons and landed gentry, with their natural influence. These remained, when the others were struck off; and the country still continued an organized whole. What then did the Hollanders do? They built upon this foundation. All the elementary organization of the country stood entire; and was only so far modified and altered as to accommodate it to the new institutions which were devised to supply the place of the powers rendered vacant by the expulsion of the Spanish authority.

Such is the sane and temperate conduct which the renovators of South America ought to prescribe to themselves. In this manner, the people,—whose ignorance and irritability may be worked

worked upon by men of evil intentions, require, in the crisis of any political change, the most sage precautions,—are never called upon for their interference. They remain at their homes. With regard to the institutions by which *they* are principally affected, the country appears to undergo no alteration. Their passions have no opportunity of being enflamed; and in every instance where matters have been conducted prudently on this plan, the quiet acquiescence of the people has followed as a thing of course.

Political science has been principally obscured, and has become the prey of prejudices and of false alarms, by confounding things that are distinct. Thus, it is one thing to *form* a constitution;—it is another thing, and a very different thing, to *administer* a constitution, (or rather, the business of the nation agreeably to the constitution), after it is established. In regard to the first, we adopt, in its full extent, the proverbial maxim, "That as much as possible should be done *for* the people,—but nothing *by* them." In this case, the people are by no means qualified to determine what *is* for them. In the moment, too, of forming a constitution, it can hardly ever happen that sufficient checks exist upon popular violence. But in regard to the second particular—the conduct of the national business according to the rules of the constitution, the case is widely different. Here there is something which must be done *by* the people; or it is ridiculous to talk of doing any thing *for* them. Whenever the interests of two sets of people are combined together in one concern, if the entire management be left to one, it is perfectly clear that this managing set will draw, by degrees, all the advantages to their own side, and throw all the disadvantages to the other: and if the joint interest is so wide and unwieldy a concern as that of a nation, so far is this inequality sure to proceed, as to ruin the interest itself, and destroy all national prosperity;—witness Sicily, Poland, and all other countries where a feudal aristocracy has swallowed up the power of the people. So far, therefore, is it from being true, that, in carrying on the business of a constitution, you can do no good *with* the cooperation and influence of the people, that you can do no good *without* it. The constitution, too, can always be so contrived, as to afford, in its exercise, *after* it is introduced, abundant checks against any irregular impulse of the people; so that the operation of the power which, in this second stage, it is necessary to entrust to them, may be purely salutary.

Let us now see how these general principles apply to the particular and remarkable case before us. Upon the cessation of the Spanish authority in South America, which, by the final subversion of the old monarchy, ceases of its own accord, what elements of organization and of government still remain in the country, upon

on which wiſdom may opportunely ſeize for the prevention of diſorder, and upon which it may build, with the leaſt riſk of confuſion, a ſuperſtructure of government and of freedom? The offices of the Spaniſh viceroys and governors, of the royal audienzas, which were a ſort of grand councils for a kind of mixed buſineſs, partly political, partly judicative, and the offices of the grand collectors and receivers of the revenue, with ſome others, fall to the ground. But there remains, as there remained in the caſe of Holland, the local magiſtracies of the country, and theſe of a conſtitution originally peculiarly good; and there remains the natural influence of the people of property and character in the country;—all together, taken, as it muſt be, in conjunction with that extrordinary criſis which muſt unite, in a manner unparalleled, the views of all deſcriptions of the community in deſiring a new and happy eſtabliſhment of the national affairs, affording a more ſecure baſis whereon to proceed in newmodelling a government, than was probably ever preſented to legiſlative beneficence before.

The *Cabildos*, for example, or what we would perhaps call the municipal corporations, afford an organization ſo complete, that the kings of Spain, themſelves, have at times entruſted to them the entire government of whole provinces. The Cabildos of Spain were erected about the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſes for which ſimilar inſtitutions, under the name of *corporations* in this country, *communautés* in France, *burgs* in Holland, &c. were erected throughout Europe. In no country, however, was the conſtitution of thoſe municipalities more free than in Spain; and in no country do they ſeem to have acquired ſo great an influence in the general government. The principal magiſtrates were of two ſorts; the firſt *Alcaldés*, the ſecond *Regidors*; the firſt, two in number always; the ſecond varying in number according to the ſize of the municipality, but ſeldom exceeding twelve, and ſeldom fewer than ſix; the regidors choſen by the people, and their office for life; the alcaldes choſen by the regidors, and their office annual. 'C'eſt ſans doute,' ſays Depons, 'le grand reſpect que la nation Eſpagnole avoit pour ſes etabliſſemens municipaux, qui perſuada aux conquérans de l'Amerique, que le gouvernement de ces nouvelles poſſeſſions, devoit néceſſairement avoir les Cabildos pour baſe: auſſi en donnerent-ils à tous les villages qu'ils fonderent.' This, then, the acknowledged *basis* in America of the old government itſelf, remains when the Spaniſh authority is overthrown; and may become the baſis of any new ſyſtem which wiſdom may chuſe to build upon it. The Cabildos, too, (and this may be contemplated as one inſtance of the manner in which the feudal inſtitutions of Europe produce new conſequences

quences

quences when tranſplanted into new ſituations), ſpread their influence beyond the limits of the town to which they nominally belonged. In Europe, the power and influence of the baron occupied all the country; and it was much if the town could preſerve its own independence. In the new world, however, there were no barons; and the influence of the Cabildo extended to the whole diſtrict around. The whole territory, therefore, became divided among the Cabildos; and thus, the baſis which they form for the erection of a new government is ſo much the more complete and ſatisfactory. The powers, too, which they engroſſed, correſponded with their new ſituation. 'Il arriva,' ſays Depons, 'que, n'ayant aucun autre tribunal pour contre-poids, les Cabildos, dans les provinces dépendantes de Caraccas, donnerent à leurs attributions plus d'etendue qu'elles n'en eurent jamais en Eſpagne. Tous, excepte le militaire, y fut de leur reſſort.' It is abundantly evident from all this, that there exiſts in South America ſuch an elementary organization, emanating from the country, as affords a ſecurity againſt confuſion, and a foundation on which to build; in all reſpects as good, to ſay the leaſt, as exiſted in Holland, at the time when ſhe threw off her dependence upon Spain, and erected a comparatively happy government for herſelf.

The ſmall extent, however, of Holland, enabled her to proceed in a manner ſomewhat different from that which circumſtances point out as the neceſſary courſe for South America. Her whole territory might be conſidered as included within the juriſdiction of the ſeven principal municipalities; and it was eaſy for theſe to join together in a ſort of a confederacy, without tumult or confuſion. It is evident, on the other hand, that in a country of ſuch vaſt extent as South America, or even its great diviſions, this is impracticable. It is the repreſentative ſyſtem alone which, in circumſtances like theſe, can ever afford a good government. The problem, then, with regard to South America, is, how the repreſentative ſyſtem can be ingraffed upon the Cabildos, and upon that ſtock of organization which is rooted in the country.

The moſt important queſtion which occurs here, is, whether the national repreſentatives ſhall be elected by the *members* of the Cabildos, or by the *electors* of theſe members. Both plans are exemplified in Great Britain. In Scotland, it is the magiſtrates of the towns, correſponding to the *members* of the Cabildos, that vote for members of Parliament. In England, where the principles of freedom were always more powerfully aſſerted, it is the *electors* of the magiſtrates, the townſmen themſelves, that generally chuſe the repreſentatives.

Without entering into the details of this queſtion, we ſhall ſtate

ſtate the grand principle which ought to guide in all deliberations of this ſort. There is one danger in rendering the baſis of a repreſentation too wide. There is another danger in rendering it too narrow. In rendering it too wide, you incur the inconveniences of the ignorant and precipitate paſſions of the vulgar. In rendering it too narrow, you incur, what is ſtill worſe, the miſchiefs of bribery and corruption. If the electors of the Cabildos would form too wide a baſis, there is reaſon to dread that the Cabildos themſelves would form one too narrow. The difficulty, however, might probably be got over, by eſtabliſhing provincial aſſemblies, for the members of which almoſt all the inhabitants might have a vote, while the great national legiſlator was elected by the members of the Cabildos alone.

Much, however, ſtill remains, and perhaps of the moſt delicate operations to the compoſition of a complete government. There is the appointment of that primary magiſtrate, call him King, Conſul, Inca, * or by whatever name ſhall be moſt to the public taſte, to whom thoſe affairs are entruſted which require immediate deciſion, and which a numerous aſſembly cannot perform. There is the proviſion of a fabric of reſponſibility,—reſponſibility not in name only but in fact,—which, hitherto, has hardly been regarded as a part of legiſlation, but without which good legiſlation will never long prevail. There is the whole, too, of that moſt important department, the judicative, which ſtill, even in the beſt governed countries, remains in ſo deplorable a ſtate.—But we have already exhauſted our limits. If it appear, as we truſt it will, that our government is diſpoſed to ſet about the great work in earneſt, and if it ſeems, to men wiſer than ourſelves, that any good is likely to be derived from purſuing our ſpeculations, we ſhall gladly reſume the ſubject on a future occaſion. In the mean time, we are anxious to warn thoſe perſons, to whom the glorious taſk of regenerating South America may fall, not to be duped by the common diviſion, on which ſo many changes have been rung, of the powers of government into the legiſlative, the executive, and the judicative. It is a diviſion not inconvenient for the ordinary purpoſes of diſcourſe; but at bottom ſo vague and inaccurate, that ſome of the moſt deep-rooted errors and the greateſt miſtakes in politics have ariſen from it. For complete information on this point, we refer our readers to Mr Bentham, 'Traités de Legiſlation,' t. i. p. 319, par Dumont; and 'A Fragment on Government,' p. 96, publiſhed anonymouſly in 1776. For many other important objects connected with

* It is worth mentioning, that Inca, as a name dear to South America, is what General Miranda has proposed.

with the same speculations, we would earnestly recommend another little book, published a few years ago at Edinburgh, entitled, 'Thoughts on Public Trusts,' which we think entitled to far greater notoriety than it has ever attained; for it contains more of valuable thinking on constitutional legislation than most other books with which we are acquainted. In regard to the whole of the judicative branch, including both tribunals and laws, invaluable instruction might be obtained from the works of Mr Bentham,—the man, unquestionably, of all who have ever lived, by far the best qualified to give advice on this subject.

With regard to the particular mode in which it would be most prudent to employ the British influence at this crisis, it is not necessary, nor perhaps proper, that we should say much. One circumstance is peculiarly fortunate, that the employment of troops has become, if not altogether, at least in a very great degree, unnecessary. Another happy circumstance is, that the influence of the country itself can be combined with that of Britain in making those fraternal advances to South America which the exigencies of the time so urgently demand. There is a passage, presenting some curious thoughts, so applicable to the present occasion, that we cannot forbear transcribing it, in a Memorial of Governor Pownall, published so long ago as 1780, entitled, 'A Memorial, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present State of Affairs between the Old and New World;' the passage may be seen at p. 26. of a curious volume, entitled, 'Three Memorials, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, Great Britain, and North America, by T. Pownall,' &c.

'I would,' says he, 'by a detailed description of the nature of the country; of the application of the labour of the country to its *capabilities*; of the state of the community as it lies in nature, and as it is actuated; all compared with the constitution and administration of the government which is established there; with the spirit of the people, both Old Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians, show that South America is growing too much for Spain to manage; that it is *in power* to be independent, and will be so *in act*, whenever, and as soon as, any occasion shall call forth that power. Whenever such revolt takes place, it will not be after the manner, or in the form of that of North America. North America, building on the foundation of its dominion as it lies in nature, has become a democratic or aristocratic republic. The falling off of South America will be conducted, in *its natural* progress, by the spirit of some injured enterprizing genius, taking the lead of a sense of alienation, and of a disposition of revolt, to the establishment of a great monarchy.'

It

It is curious, indeed, to contemplate with what uniformity great men have every where, and at all times, thought upon this subject. After some melancholy reflections upon the immediate consequences of the discovery of South America, Montaigne (*Essais, Liv.* iii. *ch.* 6.) exclaims, 'Que n'est tombée soubs Alexandre, ou soubs ces anciens Grecs et Romains, une si noble conqueste: et une si grande mutation et alteration de tant d'empires et de peuples, soubs des mains, qui eussent doucement poly et defriché ce qu'il y avoit de sauvage: et eussent conforté et promeu les bonnes semences que nature y avoit produit: meslant non seulement à la culture des terres, et ornement des villes, les arts de deça, entant qu'elles y eussent esté necessaires, mais aussi, meslant les vertus Grecques et Romaines, aux originelles du pays! Quelle reparation eust-ce esté, et quel amendement à toute cette machine, que les premiers exemples et deportmens nostres, qui se sont presentez par dela, eussent appelle ces peuples à l'admiration, et imitation de la vertu, et eussent dressé entre-eux et nous, une fraternelle societé et intelligence! Combien il eust esté aisé, de faire son profit, d'ames si neuves, si affamées d'apprentissage, ayants, pour la plus part, de si beaux commencemens naturels!'— 'Les Indes et l'Espagne,' says Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Lois, Liv.* xxi. *ch.* 22.), 'sont deux puissances sous un même maître; mais les Indes sont le principal; l'Espagne n'est que l'accessoire. En vain la politique prétend de ramener le principal à l'accessoire; les Indes attirent toujours l'Espagne à elles.'

With regard to the persons whom the unfortunate catastrophe of Spain may compel to seek refuge across the Atlantic, but whose unwelcome interference would be attended with much inconvenience, and perhaps disaster, in the delicate moment of regulation and change, a very easy expedient presents itself. Let them be received into Cuba, where they may remain till the new constitution is established; and, afterwards, let them be admitted into the Continent upon the footing of citizens and brothers.

There is one other caution which we are still anxious to impress upon our countrymen. In looking to the advantages of friendship and of commerce, which will flow spontaneously in such abundance from the freedom and prosperity of South America, let them not be too eager to stipulate for monopolies. In the first place, it will have an illiberal and rapacious appearance. In the next place, it is not only unprofitable, but worse than unprofitable. That merchants should still cry aloud for monopolies, is not, perhaps, very wonderful; because, in regard to this or that individual, what is other men's loss, may be their gain. But it is matter of indignation, that any thing in the shape of a ministry, or of a legislature, should need the demonstration to be repeated

peated to them (for demonstration it is, complete as any in Euclid,) of the elementary proposition, that monopolies are disadvantageous. Since it is but too clear, however, that the repetition *is* necessary, it must, of course, be given. The effect, then, of any degree of monopoly, in our favour, exacted from the South Americans for the protection afforded them, would be, to yield a greater profit than usual to the merchants who would deal with them. But one set of merchants are never contented to have a small profit, while their neighbours are making a large one. Any permanent enhancement of the rate of profit in any one branch of trade, raises it proportionally in all others. Monopoly, therefore, afforded us, in any quarter of the world, raises the price of all commodities at home; and that exactly in proportion to the extent, or, in the vulgar idea, to the value of that monopoly. The consequence of this necessarily is, to thrust us out of other markets. The creating, therefore, of a monopoly in our favour in one country, is just creating a monopoly *against* us in all other countries,—the monopoly of nature; which executes itself; which needs no stipulations; no guarda costas, nor revenue officers for its security.

In submitting these views and these details to the consideration of our readers, we have been actuated chiefly by the desire of communicating to them those pleasing and comfortable impressions for which we would now look in vain in any other branch of political speculation. We have also been anxious, no doubt, to turn to the consideration of this most important subject the many powerful understandings to which it may not hitherto have presented itself; and thus to secure to the undertaking the benefit of a freer and more extended discussion than it has yet had the fortune to receive. Something, too, may perhaps be gained by interesting the nation at large in a project which has hitherto been almost exclusively the nurseling of ministers; and thus binding the government to more prompt and effectual exertions in behalf of a cause which may have become popular as well as important. We have stated nothing that has not been long known to our enemies, both in Europe and in America; and nothing but good, it is evident, can result from its being generally known among ourselves.

ART. III. *Account of Steam Engines.—from a Treatise on Mechanics, Theoretical, Practical, and Descriptive.* By Olinthus Gregory, A. M. Second Edition. London. 1807.

IT is neceſſary to explain, why, inſtead of taking this entire work for a ſubject of review, we have confined ourſelves to a treatiſe

treatiſe which forms but a ſmall part of it. This is no doubt contrary to the practice which, except in the caſes of collections of detached memoirs and eſſays, we have uniformly purſued. In the preſent inſtance, however, we have been induced to depart from that practice by two conſiderations. In the *firſt* place, the tract juſt referred to is ſomewhat in the ſituation of a detached memoir,—being a treatiſe, not by the learned author of the volume in which it appears, but by a practical man, who has been led, by his profeſſion, to ſtudy the conſtruction of the ſteam engine. In the *ſecond* place, when we came to conſider the article more particularly, it appeared to us ſo full of error and miſrepreſentation, and ſo unworthy of a place in an elementary treatiſe on mechanics, that we thought it our duty to ſubject it to a ſtrict examination; in the courſe of which, we have been led into a detail which has left hardly any room for the other parts of the work.

We ſhall only remark, in general, concerning the merits of the treatiſe in which this eſſay has ſo improperly found a place, that we cannot but allow them to be conſiderable. It is not to be expected, that, in treating of the elements of a ſcience which has employed the abilities of many of the firſt men from the days of Archimedes to the preſent time, there ſhould now be an opportunity for a diſplay of much originality or invention. All that can be reaſonably expected in an elementary work, and indeed the higheſt praiſe to which it can aſpire, is clear arrangement, and a diſtinct and ſyſtematic expoſition of principles,—with the deduction from thoſe principles, by reaſonings ſimple, ſatisfactory and comprehenſive. A work uniting theſe requiſites would be entitled to great praiſe; and though it did not poſſeſs what might ſtrictly be called novelty, it might have a unity of character and deſign, which would mark it as the production of a man of genius and talent. In Mr Gregory's treatiſe, the arrangement has nothing that entitles it to peculiar commendation; and the reaſonings, though ſound and perſpicuous, do not entirely poſſeſs that unity of manner which can alone reſcue a work of this kind from the name of a compilation. The ſubjects are treated of with conſiderable extent; and it deſerves to be mentioned, to the credit of this work, that it is the firſt Engliſh treatiſe on mechanics which contains an account of the principle diſcovered by D'Alembert, which regulates the diſtribution of motion in bodies,—a principle which affords a meaſure for the action and reaction of bodies, without which many of the moſt important problems in mechanics can hardly become the ſubject of mathematical inveſtigation. The firſt volume contains the Theory of Mechanics, including Hydroſtatics and Pneumatics. The ſecond volume, which is termed the practical part, conſiſts chiefly of a deſcription of machines and engines,

engines, arranged in alphabetical order. Had this part been executed with greater care, and the descriptions rendered more perspicuous and complete, it would undoubtedly have proved a work of great utility. A principle of arrangement might also have been adopted, that would have classed machines according to some natural order, or some essential character. Even as the work stands, however, it must be of great use, both to the theoretical and practical mechanic, by bringing so many particulars into the compass of two octavo volumes. The plates are well executed, and give great additional value to the book.

The more merit, however, that it possesses, the more do we regret to find an account of the most remarkable engine to which the mechanics of the present time have given rise, disfigured by the railing and misrepresentation of an author, possessing neither the impartiality nor the knowledge indispensable in a work of the kind which he has attempted. We can indeed discover no argument by which Mr Gregory can defend himself for having admitted this description into a treatise intended to develop the principles and facts which relate to mechanical invention. It was undoubtedly known to him, that Mr Jabez Carter Hornblower, the author of that account, had stated himself as the rival of Mr Watt in the improvements of the steam engine; and that, when his pretensions became the subject of legal discussion, they had been found an invasion of the rights which a patent had conferred on the true inventor. Accordingly, the soreness arising from that, or some similar cause, is visible in every part of his description. He sets out with the following piece of coarse and vulgar declamation.

'It is remarkable that we have nothing handed to us on this subject that is worthy of our reception, notwithstanding the number of our cyclopædias and encyclopædias, unless it be what is published in the *Minor's** *Friend* by Mr Thomas Savary, and afterwards in Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*; and these, but especially the former, with all the frankness and faithfulness of undisguised fact, have put to the blush those pompous conceits and absurdities that have either wilfully or ignorantly been trumped up to allure the undiscerning multitude, or to prattle the praise of the ingenious inventors.' vol. II. p. 358.

One would have thought that the tone and manner of such an exordium as this would have made a man of science and of learning stop to consider the character of the person into whose hands he was delivering his pen, and whose writings he was giving to the public in company with his own. If Mr Gregory

* The author probably means the *Miner's Friend*, though the erratum, whether of the pen, or of the press, is the same in both editions.

gory has not done so, we must take the liberty to say, that his taste or his intentions have been greatly in fault.

As Mr Hornblower's description is extremely desultory and ill arranged, it appears to us that we shall best correct the errors of it, by giving a short account of the principles of Mr Watt's steam-engine, and of the steps by which he was led to his successive improvements; and, having thus got a consistent and distinct view of the subject, we shall be able to expose the errors and misrepresentations contained in the paper before us. In doing this, we are conscious of no prejudices by which we can be misled; we are interested only for the truth; and we can assure our readers that we have taken considerable pains to be well informed concerning it.

The first idea of the steam-engine is found in the writings of that celebrated projector, the Marquis of Worcester, who, in the year 1663, published a small tract, entitled, "A Century of Inventions," consisting of short heads or notices of schemes, many of them obviously impracticable, which at various times had suggested themselves to his very fertile and warm imagination. No contemporary record exists to illustrate or verify his description of the contrivance which we presume to call a steam-engine, or to inform us where, and in what manner, it was carried into effect, though it is evident, from his account, that he had actually constructed and worked a machine that raised water by steam. His description of the method is short and obscure; but inclines us to think, contrary to what many have supposed, that the force of his engine was derived solely from the *elasticity* of steam; and that the *condensation* of steam by cold, was no part of his contrivance. This last, we believe, was the invention of Captain Savary, who, in 1696, published an account of his machine, in a small tract entitled the *Miner's Friend*, having erected several engines previous to that period. In these engines the alternate condensation and pressure of the steam took place in the same vessel into which the water was first raised, from a lower reservoir, by the pressure of the atmosphere, and then expelled into a higher one, by the elastic force of strong steam.

Steam, it must be observed, was thus employed merely to produce a vacuum, and to supply the strength that was applied, for a like effect, to the sucker or piston of an ordinary pump; and it was a great step to have discovered a method of bringing the air to act in this manner by the application of heat to water, without the assistance of mechanical force.

The next essential improvement was made by Newcomen, for which he obtained a patent in 1705. It consisted in separating the parts of the engine in which the steam was to act, from those in

in which the water was to be raised; the weight of the atmosphere being employed only for the purpose of pressure, and the steam for that of first displacing the air, and then forming a vacuum by condensation. Newcomen was thus enabled to dispense with the use of steam of great and dangerous elasticity, to work with moderate heats, and to remove at least some part of the causes of wasteful and ineffectual condensation. To him we are indebted for the introduction of the steam cylinder and piston, and for their connexion with the pump by means of the main lever with its rods and chains, to which we might add several other subordinate contrivances, which do great credit to his ingenuity.

Still, however, the machine required the constant attendance of a man to open and shut the cocks at the proper intervals, for the alternate admission of steam and cold water: and although traditional report attributes the invention of the mechanism by which the engine was made to perform this work itself, to the ingenuity of an idle boy, we know that the contrivance was first perfected by Mr Henry Beighton in 1717, who also improved the construction of several other parts of the engine. From this time to the year 1764, there seems to have been no material improvement in the structure of the engine, which still continued to be known by the appellation of Newcomen's, or the atmospheric engine. The boilers, however, had been removed from under the cylinder in some of the larger engines, and the cylinder had been fixed down to a solid basis. Still the steam was condensed *in* the cylinder; the hot water was expelled by the steam; the piston was pressed down by the weight of the atmosphere, and kept tight by being covered with water. It was moreover considered as necessary that the injection cistern should be placed on high, in order that the water might enter with great force. It had been found by experience, that the engine could not be loaded, with advantage, with more than seven pounds on each square inch of the piston; and the inferiority of that power to the known pressure of the atmosphere, was, without due consideration, imputed wholly to friction. The bulk of water when converted into steam was very erroneously computed; the quantity of fuel necessary to evaporate a given quantity of water was not even guessed at; whether the heat of steam is accurately measured by its temperature was unknown; and no good experiment had been made to determine the quantity of injection water necessary for a cylinder of given dimensions. In a word, no man of science in this country had considered the subject since Desaguliers; and his writings, in many respects, tended more to mislead than instruct.

Such was the state of matters, when, fortunately for science

and for the arts, Mr Watt, then a mathematical instrument-maker at Glasgow, undertook the repair of the model of a steam engine belonging to the University. In the course of his trials with it, he found the quantity of fuel and injection water it required much greater in proportion than they were said to be in large engines; and it soon occurred to him, that this must be owing to the cylinder of this small model exposing a greater surface, in proportion to its contents, than larger cylinders did. This he endeavoured to remedy, by making his cylinders and pistons of substances which conducted heat slowly. He employed wood prepared on purpose, and resorted to other expedients, without producing the desired effect in any remarkable degree. He found, also, that all attempts to produce a greater degree of exhaustion, or a more perfect vacuum, occasioned a disproportionate expenditure of steam. In reflecting upon the causes of these phenomena, the recent discovery, that water boiled in an exhausted receiver at low degrees of heat, (certainly not exceeding 100 degrees of Fahrenheit, but probably, when the vacuum was perfect, much lower) occurred to him; and he immediately concluded, that, to obtain any considerable degree of exhaustion, the cylinder and its contents must be cooled down to 100 degrees at least; in which case, the reproduction of steam in the same cylinder must be accompanied with a great expense of heat, and consequently of fuel. He next endeavoured to ascertain the temperature at which water boils when placed under various pressures; and, not having any apparatus at hand by which he could make his experiments under pressures less than that of the atmosphere, he began with trying the temperature of water boiling under greater pressures; and by laying down a curve, of which the *abscissæ* represented the temperatures, and the *ordinates* the pressures, he found the law by which the two are connected, whether the pressure be increased or diminished.

Observing, also, that there was a great error in Desaguliers's calculation of the bulk of water when converted into steam, and that the experiment on which he founded his conclusion was in itself fallacious, he thought it essential to determine this point with more accuracy. By a very simple experiment with a Florence flask, which our limits will not allow us to detail, he ascertained, that water, when converted into steam under the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere, occupies about eighteen hundred times its original space.

These points being determined, he constructed a boiler in such a manner, as to show by inspection, with tolerable accuracy, the quantity of water evaporated in any given time; and he also ascertained by experiment the quantity of coals necessary to evaporate a given quantity of water.

He

He now applied his boiler to the working model above mentioned; when it appeared, that the quantity of steam expended at every stroke, exceeded many times what was sufficient to fill the cylinder; and deducing from thence the quantity of water required to form as much steam as would supply each stroke of the engine, he proceeded to examine how much cold water was used for injection, and what heat it gained; which, to his very great surprise, he found to be many times the number of degrees which could have been communicated to it by a quantity of boiling water equal to that of which the steam was composed. Suspecting, however, that there might be some fallacy in these deductions, he made a direct experiment to ascertain the degree of heat communicated by steam to water; when it clearly appeared, that one part of water, in the form of steam, at 212°, had communicated about 140 degrees of heat to six parts of water. The fact, thus confirmed, was so contrary to all his previous conceptions, that he at first saw no means of explaining it. Dr Black indeed had, some time before, made his discovery of latent heat; but Mr Watt's mind being otherwise engaged, he had not attended sufficiently to it, to make himself much acquainted with the doctrine: but upon communicating his observations to the Doctor, he received from him a full explanation of his theory; and this induced him to make further experiments, by which he ascertained the latent heat of steam to be above 900 degrees.

The causes of the defects of Newcomen's engines were now evident. It appeared that the steam could not be condensed so as to form an approximation to a vacuum, unless the cylinder, and the water it contained, were cooled down to less than 100°; and that, at greater degrees of heat, the water in the cylinder must produce steam, which would in part resist the pressure of the atmosphere. On the other hand, when greater degrees of exhaustion were attempted, the quantities of injection water required to be increased in a very great ratio; and this was followed by a proportionate destruction of steam on refilling the cylinder.

Mr Watt now perceived, that to make an engine in which the destruction of steam should be the least possible, and the vacuum the most perfect, it was necessary that the cylinder should condense no steam on filling it, and that, when condensed, the water, forming the steam, should be cooled down to 100 degrees, or lower. In reflecting on this desideratum, he was not long in finding that the cylinder must be preserved always as hot as the steam that enters it; and that, by opening a communication between this hot cylinder when filled with steam, and another vessel exhausted of air, the steam, being an elastic fluid, would rush into it, until an equilibrium was established between the two

veſſels; and that if cold water, in ſufficient quantity, were injected into the ſecond veſſel, the ſteam it contained would be reduced to water, and no more ſteam would enter until the whole was condenſed.

But a difficulty aroſe—How was this condenſed ſteam and water to be got out of the ſecond veſſel without letting in air? Two methods preſented themſelves. One was, to join to this ſecond veſſel (which, after him, we ſhall call *the condenſer*) a pipe, which ſhould extend downwards more than 34 feet perpendicular, ſo that the column of water contained in it, exceeding the weight of the atmoſphere, would run out by its own gravity, and leave the condenſer in a ſtate of exhauſtion, except in ſo far as the air, which might enter with the ſteam and injection water, ſhould tend to render the exhauſtion leſs perfect: this air he propoſed to extract by means of a pump. The ſecond method which occurred, was to extract both air and water by means of a pump, or pumps; which would poſſeſs the advantage over the other, of being applicable in all ſituations. This latter contrivance was therefore preferred; and is known by the common name of the Air-pump. There ſtill remained ſome defects unremedied in Newcomen's cylinder. The piſton in that engine was kept tight by water; much of which paſſing by the ſides, injured the vacuum below, by its evaporation; and this water, as well as the atmoſphere which came into contact with the upper part of the piſton and ſides of the cylinder at every ſtroke, tended materially to cool that veſſel. Mr Watt removed theſe defects, by applying oils, wax, and fat of animals, to lubricate his piſton and keep it tight: he put a cover on his cylinder (with a hole in it made air and ſteam tight, for the piſton rod to paſs through), and employed the elaſtic force of ſteam to preſs upon the piſton: he alſo ſurrounded the cylinder with a caſe containing ſteam, or a caſe of wood, or of other non-conducting ſubſtance, which ſhould keep it always of an equable temperature.

The improvement of Newcomen's engine, ſo far as the ſaving of ſteam and fuel was concerned, was now complete in Mr Watt's mind; and in the courſe of the following year 1765, he executed a working model, the effect of which he found fully to anſwer his expectations. It worked readily with 10½ lib. on the inch, and was even capable of raiſing 14 lib.; and did not require more than one third of the ſteam, uſed in the common atmoſpheric engine, to produce the ſame effect. Indeed, the principle of keeping the veſſel, in which the elaſticity of the ſteam is exerted always hot, and that in which the condenſation is performed always cold, is in itſelf perfect. For the ſteam never coming in contact with any ſubſtance colder than itſelf until it had done its office,

fice, no part is condenſed until the whole effect has been obtained in the cylinder; and when it has acted there, it is ſo condenſed in the ſeparate veſſel that no reſiſtance remains: Accordingly, the barometer proves a vacuum, nearly as perfect as by the exhauſtion of the air-pump. The whole of the ſteam and heat is uſefully employed; and the contrivance appears ſcarcely to admit of improvement.

Such is the history of this valuable invention, which we have extracted from Dr Black and Professor Robison's testimonials, who were privy to Mr Watt's discovery; as well as from some early letters of his own to confidential friends, to which we have had access.

We have entered thus minutely into the subject, from a desire to do that justice which is due to Mr Watt, by showing that this great improvement was not the effect of accident, or of casual observation,—but the result of deep reflection, of great ingenuity, and much philosophical investigation.

It did not, at the early period we have been speaking of, escape him, that great benefit might be derived from the direct application of the power of steam to driving mills, instead of using it to raise water to act on a wheel, as had heretofore been done; and with this view, he invented and executed the model of a steam wheel, for giving a circular motion to an axis.

His occupations in the business of a civil engineer which he had now taken up, perhaps also the indifferent state of his health, his want of funds, and his apprehension of the prejudices and opposition he might have to encounter, prevented his applying for a patent for the invention we have described, until the year 1769. He had, we believe, previous to, or about that time, erected an engine for his friend Dr Roebuck of Kinneil, near Borrowstounness, which, upon a large scale confirmed his expectations; the proportionate saving of fuel being from two thirds to three fourths of that of engines on Newcomen's construction. Dr Roebuck, whose spirit for enterprise and improvement in the arts is well known, foresaw all the advantages likely to result from this invention, and became associated in the prospects which it opened. But some of his own projects having failed, he soon after disposed of his interest to Mr Boulton the celebrated founder of Soho manufactory, with whose aid Mr Watt, in 1774, solicited and obtained an act of Parliament for the extension of the term of his patent for twenty-five years; and the business of making steam-engines was soon after commenced by the firm of Boulton and Watt.

In executing his invention on a large scale, Mr Watt felt the necessity of improving the construction of several of the parts of Newcomen's engine. With this view, he induced Mr Wilkinson

to erect an apparatus for boring the cylinders with more precision than had hitherto been done; he adopted a new mode of constructing the piston and screwing down the packing, and secured the rod in the piston in a more perfect manner; he introduced puppet valves into the steam boxes or nozles, instead of the old sliding regulators; he used better means of opening these valves, and added various improvements in the working gear; he suspended the working beam, so that the centre of motion was below the centre of gravity, instead of being above it, as in the old engines; and he improved the mode of setting the boilers on the grates, as well as the apparatus for keeping the boilers regularly supplied with water.

He introduced also into some of his earliest reciprocating engines, the principle of using the steam to act expansively, which he had discovered so early as the year 1769. *

The character of his engines being now fully established by the erection of several large ones in Cornwall, and other parts of the kingdom, Mr Watt recurred to his favourite idea of applying the power of steam to produce motions round an axis.

He had, upon trial, found practical objections to the steam wheel described in his patent; and a second one which he had contrived was also given up: for, upon very full consideration of the subject, it appeared to him, that the object would be better attained by deriving the rotative motion from the rectilinear motion of the piston in the reciprocating engine.

Something of this kind had been attempted by others. An atmospheric engine had been employed at Hartley coalery, in Northumberland, as early as 1768, to draw coals out of a pit. It had a toothed

* This appears by a letter from him to his friend the late Dr Small of Birmingham, dated Glasgow, 28th May, 1769; of which the following is an extract.

'I mentioned to you a method of still doubling the effect of the steam, and that tolerably easy, by using the power of steam rushing into a vacuum, at present lost. This would do little more than double the effect, but it would too much enlarge the vessels to use it all. It is peculiarly applicable to wheel engines, and may supply the want of a condenser where force of steam only is used: for, open one of the steam valves, and admit steam until one fourth of the distance between it and the next valve is filled with steam; shut the valve, and the steam will continue to expand, and to press round the wheel with a diminishing power, ending in one fourth of its first exertion. The sum of the series you will find greater than one half, though only one fourth steam was used. The power will indeed be unequal; but this can be remedied *by a fly*, or several other ways.'

toothed sector on the end of the working beam, working into a trundle, which, by means of two pinions with ratchet wheels, produced a rotative motion, in the same direction, by both the ascending and descending stroke of the arch; and, by shifting the ratchets, the motion could be reversed at pleasure. This engine had no fly-wheel, and went sluggishly and irregularly. Who the inventor was, we do not know.

A patent was taken out in 1769, by a gentleman of the name of Stewart, for an engine which produced a rotative motion, by a chain going round a pully, and also round two barrels furnished with ratchet wheels, with a weight suspended to the free end of the chain, which served to continue the motion during the return of the engine. In 1778, Mr Matthew Washbrough also obtained a patent for communicating a rotative motion from the steam engine, by a method which was virtually the same as that at Hartley; only, he had added a fly-wheel, which we believe was then for the first time employed in the steam engine, though it is evident, from the letter we have quoted from Mr Watt to Dr Small, that the former had conceived the idea long previous to this period. Two or three of these engines were erected; but, owing to the defective mode of communicating the motion, were subject to such irregularities and accidents, as rendered them of little use.

The idea of communicating motion from the beam of the steam engine to a crank, in the same manner as is done in the common foot-lathe, had, as we are informed, early occurred to Mr Watt; but we believe he did not seriously set about reducing his ideas to practice until the year 1778 or 1779. In the first model he then made, in order to equalize the power, two cylinders, acting upon two cranks were fixed upon the same axis, at an angle of 120° from each other; and a weight was placed upon the circumference of the fly-wheel, at an angle of 120° from each of the cranks; which weight was to be so adjusted, as to act when neither of the cranks could do so, and consequently to render the power nearly equal. This model performed to satisfaction; but Mr Watt having neglected to take out a patent immediately, the essential part of the contrivance was communicated, as we understand, by a workman employed to make the model, to the persons engaged about one of Washbrough's engines; and a patent was taken out for the application of the crank by the engineer there employed. This did not dishearten Mr Watt; and, without troubling himself with setting aside a patent which, so long as it continued attached to the common atmospheric engine, could do him little harm, he set about other modes of effecting the same thing; and, in 1781, took out a patent for several new methods

methods of applying the vibrating or reciprocating motion of steam engines to produce a continued rotative motion round an axis; one of which was that beautiful contrivance of the revolving motion of one wheel round another. These and the crank were indifferently used in his engines, without any molestation on the part of the piratical patentee.

This, however, was only a part of what Mr Watt saw to be necessary, in order to perfect this application of the steam-engine. The steam had hitherto been used only to press down the piston, which was returned by a weight at the opposite end of the beam, so that the power of the steam may be said to have been inactive during that period. Mr Watt remedied this, by applying the power of the steam to press the piston down, as well as to press it up, thus forming alternately a vacuum above and below the piston. This he called *the double engine*; and, in fact, it doubled the power exerted within the same cylinder. He had long had in his mind the idea of this improvement; and had even produced a drawing of it to the House of Commons in 1774, at the time he procured the act to prolong his original patent; but the first he executed was, we believe, at Soho in the year 1781 or 1782, and the first public exhibition of it at the Albion Mills a few years later.

About the same period, finding double chains or racks and sectors very inconvenient for communicating the motion of the piston rod to the angular motion of the beam, he invented and applied what has been called the *parallel motion*, one of the most ingenious and most perfect contrivances in mechanics.

To prevent irregularities in the speed of the engine, arising from variations in the quantum of power used at different intervals in the works to which it was applied, he made an application of the centrifugal force of what is called the governor, (before used in wind and water mills) to regulate the admission of the steam; by this means keeping the engine always at an uniform velocity, and diminishing the consumption of steam in proportion to the power exerted; thus giving the finishing stroke to the perfection of the motion of this machine, and rendering its regularity nearly correspondent with that of the pendulum of a clock.

These inventions are detailed amongst many other contrivances, both relative to steam engines, and the applications of their power, in two patents, dated 1782 and 1784. Some of these are highly ingenious: a few may have been first ideas, not yet reduced to practice; and others were no doubt inserted for the purpose of guarding against evasion.

Such is the general outline of the improvements introduced by Mr Watt into the steam engine; but it would lead us too far, to go into the detail of the applications of this power, or to enumerate

merate the advantages which the country has derived from it. We shall content ourselves with observing, that by means of it, many of the principal mines in the kingdom have been kept open, and rendered productive, when otherwise they must have ceased to work. By the construction of the rotative engine, a new era has been introduced into the manufactures of the kingdom; and it has been in a great measure owing to it, that those manufactures have been carried to an extent unprecedented in the history of nations. The merit and success of these improvements, however, created (as success and merit will always do) an host of imitators and detractors, from whom Messrs Boulton and Watt, during the greater part of the term of their exclusive privilege, experienced the most harassing and obstinate opposition.

Having given this short history of Mr Watt's improvements, we shall proceed to consider the view that Mr Gregory and his associate have taken of the same subject. These gentlemen have both animadverted with great severity, and, we think, with very little reason, on the mode adopted by Boulton and Watt for describing the force of the steam engine by a comparison with the power of horses. 'What is called,' say they, 'the horses' 'power, is of so fluctuating and indefinite a nature, that it is perfectly ridiculous to assume it as a common measure by which 'the force of steam engines and other machines should be appre-'ciated.' II. pp. 78. 357.

Now, we are ready to admit, that if nothing more definite were said of any engine than that it did the work of a certain number of horses, this would not convey an idea of its power sufficiently accurate for many of the purposes of science. It might, however, be accurate enough for many of the purposes of common life. Now, if the thing wanted was an approximate and popular standard of comparison, such as might be intelligible to every body, and sufficiently exact for ordinary purposes, it is certain, that a more convenient expression could not easily be found than that which is here referred to. Prior to Mr Watt's application of the steam engine to produce rotative motion, the great manufactories of the kingdom had their mill-work set in motion by the agency of water, of wind, or of horses; and the latter had, for many years, been almost exclusively employed in the breweries and distilleries of the metropolis. It was therefore natural for one who wished to substitute the power of steam for the power of horses, to state the number of the latter to which the new power, under given conditions, would be equivalent; and it is probable that Boulton and Watt felt that such a mode of comparison would be more intelligible to common apprehensions than a more accurate and scientific formula. It gave the power of an

engine

engine expressed in numbers, of which the ordinary strength of a horse is the unit. This, no doubt, is not in itself very exact, the unit being large, and subject to some variation. Relatively to the purpose for which it was used, it was however sufficiently correct; and on this, as on many similar occasions, a more minute measurement would have been less useful. If a historian would express the interval of time between two different events, he is in general satisfied with counting the number of years: and it would be a useless affectation of accuracy to reckon up the months, days, hours and minutes, that must be added or taken away, in order to measure the aforesaid interval with mathematical exactness. So, also, if a man were to ride post from London to York, it would serve his purpose as well to know the distance of these cities in miles, as in feet, inches, and decimals of an inch.

Boulton and Watt, however, have not left the matter in a state that can be accounted incorrect in any case, but have given to it all the accuracy that can be required, when, from the result of experiments made with the strong horses employed by the brewers in London, they have assumed, as the standard of a horse's power, a force able to raise thirty-three thousand lib. one foot high in a minute; and this, no doubt, was meant to include an allowance of power sufficiently ample to cover the usual variations of the strength of horses, and of other circumstances that may affect the accuracy of the result. This determination, we think, could not be unknown to Mr Gregory, and certainly not to his coadjutor. If, in forming the estimate just-mentioned, the power of a horse is rated, as we think it is, above the ordinary average, this circumstance cannot be complained of by the public, as it tends to represent the advantage of the engines less than it will be found in real practice.

It is impossible not to advert to the great inconsistences into which the author of the memoir we are now considering has been led, by a desire to appear candid, and a strong propensity to be quite the contrary. He says, that 'he is not disposed to detract 'one atom from the advantage resulting to the community through 'the perfection of Mr Watt's engine;' and again, 'that he does not 'mean to withhold the acknowledgment, that, through Mr Watt's 'means, the steam engine now ranks foremost among the produc-'tions of the philosophical and mechanical world.'—Yet, in another place, he says, 'that it is still in the minds of some yet in 'existence, that the first engines which were erected by Mr Watt, 'exhibited but miserable specimens of his mechanical abilities.'

It is not easy to reconcile these passages, or to understand how the engineer, to whom the most perfect mechanical contrivance of the present age is admitted to owe its improvement, should have

have given at any time, and especially after he had made those improvements, a miserable specimen of *mechanical ability*. These things are obviously inconsistent, and could hardly have come together in the mind of any body, but one who affected the character of justice, only that he might give a deeper wound, and render his injustice more efficient.

Mr Hornblower remarks, at page 361, 'That some sterling 'acknowledgments are due to Mr Watt's coadjutors, of which 'he availed himself in a region of rare talents.' It may be observed, that, by a region of rare talents, the author probably means a region in which talents were *not* rare. Now, as to the indefinite charge here made against Mr Watt's candour, it is evident that every man who lives in a civilized age, and among men of talent and ingenuity, may have such a charge brought against him; for he must, doubtless, be indebted for much of his knowledge and attainments, both to his predecessors and contemporaries. There are few men, like Napier or Bacon, of whom it can fairly be said that they owed nothing to those around them, and that, in their inventions or their discoveries, no one whatever can claim the smallest share. This, however, we believe, to be as nearly true of Mr Watt's inventions, as it can be of any, in an age where art and science are so highly improved, or so extensively cultivated, as in the present. From the first experiments, when the model at Glasgow College was put into his hands, to the last improvement made on his engine, as it now exists, we believe the whole series to have been the work of his own genius. The more carefully one studies the history of the steam engine, the more he will be convinced of this fact; and it is indeed reasonable to expect that it should be so: for, after the improvement of condensing in a separate vessel was made, the subsequent improvements lay so much more in Mr Watt's way, than in that of any other person; they were things that could so little be struck out by sudden efforts of ingenuity; they must, from their nature, be the fruit of so much patient and profound reflection, that Mr Watt, with inventive powers much inferior to those which he really possesses, had a chance of many hundreds to one, in his favour, that he would be the first to discover, and the first to remedy any imperfection in a system of contrivances which he had studied with so much diligence, and which was, in fact, the creation of his own genius.

We must be permitted to remark, too, that Birmingham was not the first *region of rare talents*, to use the phrase of Mr Hornblower, which Mr Watt had had the good fortune to inhabit. At Glasgow, he lived in a society of ingenious men, and had for his particular friends the late Professor Robison and Dr Black. The former

former was, no doubt, a very young man; and his fertility of invention, though great, could not be supposed to give much assistance to an experienced artist. Dr Black, on the other hand, was older than Mr Watt, and was at that very time engaged in the discovery of the doctrine of latent heat, so analogous in some respects to the objects of Mr Watt's inquiry. But, notwithstanding this, and though one of Mr Watt's most important discoveries, the great quantity of cold, if we may use that language, necessary to condense steam, might have been deduced from the doctrine just mentioned, had it been then fully established; the truth is, that he was led to it from his own experiments, independently of all theory, and before he was acquainted with the principle which Dr Black was then, as we may say, in the very act of discovering. This we state expressly as appearing clearly from some original papers which we have had occasion to examine, and also from recollecting, as some of us do, the account which Dr Black, with the modesty and candour which so strongly marked every part of his character, never failed to give, when the history of Mr Watt's discoveries and his own became the subjects of conversation. He seemed always to feel over again the pleasure he had first experienced, when he understood the coincidence between the results of Mr Watt's experiments and his own. The truth, therefore, appears to be, that Mr Watt's result was deduced from his own experiments alone, though the explanation of it was derived from the theory of Dr Black.

Mr Hornblower, in his style of loose and angry invective, has thrown out many reflections on the author of the article *Steam Engine*, in the Encyclopædia Britannica; and he is not ashamed to call that article a *farrago of absurdities.* In two things we are ready to admit that he has corrected that article, viz. in what respects the leathering of the pistons of a steam engine,—and again, in what respects the density of steam; in which last, however, he knew that the author had already corrected himself. Now, these two mistakes could not have concealed from any one who was not under the influence of excessive prejudice, the great body of valuable facts, ingenious deduction, and useful information of every kind, that are generally acknowledged to be contained in the article above mentioned, when connected with its Supplement. The real objection, however, in the eyes of Mr Hornblower, is, that the article we are speaking of was drawn up by a friend of Mr Watt's, an admirer of his talents, and a man every way qualified to appreciate them. What he has said, is the tribute paid by one man of genius to another; and there is therefore no wonder that it should not express the sentiments

sentiments of Mr Hornblower. That gentleman, however, may have the apology of knowing nothing of Mr Robison but the article just mentioned. Mr Gregory certainly has not the same apology for admitting a coarse and turgid invective, directed against an author with whose merits he cannot fail to be acquainted, and of whose productions he must often have availed himself. *

At page 391, a steam engine is described with great praise, the same with one that has been mentioned in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and commended; and is one for which a patent was taken out by Mr Jonathan Hornblower of Penrhyn in 1781. In the account, however, one circumstance is omitted, which is very material in the history of this engine; viz. that in the year 1799, it became the subject of an action, as an infringement of Mr Watt's patent; and that the miner who had used the engines of this construction, paid the portion of savings in fuel claimed by Messrs Boulton and Watt for the use of their invention, rather than risk the event of a lawsuit. It should, besides, be observed, that if this engine merits the eulogium bestowed upon it, it seems singular, that not one of the kind has since been erected, though all legal obstructions were removed, by the expiration of Mr Watt's patent in the year 1800.

A similar omission is made, in the description of another engine, viz. that erected by Messrs Murray and Wood in 1802. Neither the author of this article, nor the editor, have stated what is well known to be the fact; viz. that the nozles or steam-valves, there described as having the stem or spindle of the one passing through the spindle of the other, and ascribed to Messrs Murray and Wood; as also, the method of opening these valves by a circular motion derived from the rotative shaft of the engine, had been previously used by Boulton and Watt, in engines which they had erected; and that the patent taken out in 1801 by Murray, for these and other pretended inventions, was set aside in 1802 or 1803, by a writ of *scire facias*, at the instance of the company just named.

In speaking of Mr Gainsborough, whom he supposes to have preceded

* In looking over the articles in Mr Gregory's two volumes, we have not observed that there is any very scrupulous correctness in the references to his sources of information. For example, the abstract of Coulomb's experiments, and the section on horizontal wind mills, are taken, with little variation, and no acknowledgment, from Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Mechanics. The same is true of the article on the teeth of wheels, and part of the description of the thrashing machine, &c. Some *sterling acknowledgments*, to use the language of his friend Mr Hornblower, were surely required from Mr Gregory on such occasions.

preceded Mr Watt in the invention of cooling the steam in a separate vessel, Mr Hornblower brings a conversation of Mr S. More, late secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, as an evidence of his assertion. We believe, and hope, for the sake of the memory of a very respectable man, that this conversation is not accurately represented. It remains upon record, that Mr S. More was examined as a witness on the trial of the cause Boulton *versus* Bull, in Summer 1792; at which time, Mr Hornblower himself was also examined as a witness, but on the opposite side from Mr More. Mr More, on this occasion, was asked, whether he had read the specification of Mr Watt's invention; and whether, in his opinion, it contained a disclosure of the principles of the steam engine? To this question, he answered, 'I am fully of opinion, 'that it contains the principles entirely, clearly, and demonstra-'tively.' He was then asked, '*Did you ever meet with the appli-'cation of those principles before you knew Mr Watt's engine?*' His answer was, 'I do declare, I never saw the principles laid 'down in Mr Watt's specification, either applied to the steam 'engine previous to his taking it up, or ever read of any such 'thing whatever.' It is not easy to reconcile these two answers, given by this gentleman upon oath, with the words that Mr Hornblower has put into his mouth.

As to what regards Mr Gainsborough's invention, we shall not enter upon the merits of it: but, whatever these may have been, it is quite impossible that Mr Watt's idea of condensing in a separate vessel could be derived from that gentleman. Mr Watt, while he resided at Glasgow about the year 1764 or 1765, invented that method of condensation, as we have seen, and as is proved from a concurrence of the most respectable testimony. Mr Gainsborough's improvement, whatever it was, was posterior by more than twenty years.

After the preceding article is concluded, Mr Gregory himself gives an account of Mr Prony's statement, in his *Architecture Hydraulique;* where the French author has ingeniously contrived to found, in favour of Bettancourt, a kind of secondary claim to the invention of the double steam engine; and by devoting a considerable portion of one of the volumes of his elaborate and useful work to the description of the steam engines, which he states to have been designed by Bettancourt and executed by Messrs Perrier at Paris, he has succeeded in transferring to them, in the eyes of the greatest part of the continent, the credit of inventions which belong exclusively to Mr Watt. We should feel ourselves called upon to enlarge upon this article, did we not understand, from good authority, that Mr Prony, sensible of the error into which he has been led by the assertions

sertions of others, has expressed his desire and intention of repairing the injustice he has done to our countryman.

The fact relative to Mr Bettancourt's invention, we believe to be as follows. When that gentleman was in England some years ago, he had an opportunity of examining the engine at the Albion mills; and the principle of the engine was explained to him on the spot, either by Mr Watt or Mr Boulton. Considering how many men were occupied in the mill, and dependent upon it, it was not to be expected that either of these gentlemen should request the proprietors to stop the machine, merely that a stranger might gratify his curiosity by a minute inspection of the parts. Mr Bettencourt, therefore, saw the machine only at work; but we do not believe that the concealment of any part of the structure was intended. In fact, there was nothing in the construction of the double engine, which should not have been evident, upon mere external inspection, to any one who understood Mr Watt's single engines, which Mr Bettancourt had a full opportunity of doing, by examining that made by them for Messrs Perrier, and erected at Chaillot in the year 1779, to supply the city of Paris with water. This, which was a single engine, has continued to work there ever since, and is minutely described by Mr Prony. The inspection of the parallel motion in the engine at the Albion mills, naturally suggested to Mr Bettancourt the notion of steam, by its elasticity, forcing the piston of the engine up as well as down. To an intelligent engineer, the means of producing this effect could not be long of presenting themselves.

What Mr Gregory has said (p. 394) of Wolf's engine, appears to us very unsatisfactory. We do not believe that Mr Watt ever said or thought what he is here stated to have done; which appears to us totally inconsistent with all his experiments and inferences.

Another point, which we conceive to be very improperly treated by Mr Gregory himself in the work before us, is the contrivance of what is called the parallel motion in Mr Watt's double engine. This motion is brought about by forcing a bar, of a given length, to move so, that its two extremities shall be in the circumferences of two circles given in position, which circles have their convexities turned opposite ways, or towards one another. In a bar so circumstanced, certain points may be found which describe lines that, for a considerable extent, do not differ sensibly from straight lines. Such a position is easily given to the two circles, that the lines just mentioned shall be perpendicular to the horizon; in consequence of which, a bar or rod that is fixed at any of the points describing those lines, will be drawn perpendicularly up, and forced perpendicularly down,

as the pump rods are required to be in the engine with the double stroke. This very ingenious and masterly contrivance was first employed in Mr Watt's engines; and yet, in Mr Gregory's article of Parallel Motions, the name of Mr Watt does not once occur. We cannot but think that this is a remarkable instance of want of candour, and very unlike the treatment which one ingenious man is bound to give to another. The article, too, may be accused of being superficial, as well as uncandid. Why was not the nature of the rectilineal motion, produced by this contrivance, more accurately explained? Why did not the author inform his readers, as his geometrical knowledge surely could not but enable him to do, that the line described by the points in the beam above mentioned, is not, strictly speaking, a straight line, but is the part in which a curve, of a high order, has a contrary flexure, and passes from being concave on one side to become concave on the opposite? Why did he not explain in what manner the equation to this curve can be found, and what are the practical inferences that might from thence be deduced? This would have been the more worthy of a mathematician, that the practical solution of the problem at present in use is purely tentative, and the result of an experimental, not of a geometrical construction.

Concerning the principle which directed Mr Watt to the contrivance of this motion, different representations have been given. One of these, supported by the authority of Prony, is, that he was led to it by the consideration of an instrument used for describing a great variety of lines on paper, known by the name of *Suardi's pen*. Now, we must say, that we cannot but consider this as extremely unlikely, and that we could not easily be brought to credit it, except on the direct testimony of Mr Watt himself. It is very true, that Suardi's pen, if known to him, may have suggested the idea that it was possible to describe, by a continued motion, certain curves, portions of which, where the curvature changes its direction, do not differ sensibly from straight lines. This, however, was not a piece of information very material to be received, or such as any man accustomed to the inspection of geometrical figures, could have any occasion to look for from without. But the information to be obtained from Suardi's pen, could go no further than this, when considered relatively to the conditions under which the problem of the parallel motion was to be resolved in the steam engine. In Suardi's instrument, the complication of wheels and pinions, and the consequent description of cycloids and epicycloids, may be continued without end. When any line whatever, therefore, is described by this instrument, it is in consequence of a vast complication of motions, such

such as Mr Watt, or any man working upon the scale that he did, and with the means he must employ, could have no power to imitate. The complicated process of Suardi, if it could have had any effect, must have led an engineer to despair absolutely of describing similar lines by the few simple motions which he had it in his power to produce. Far from suggesting the means of overcoming the difficulties, it would have deterred him from any attempt to overcome them.

We may conclude, therefore, with great probability, that it was not in this way that the discovery was made. There is a much more natural and more obvious view of the matter, by which we are persuaded that Mr Watt was directed; but our conjecture has a defect, unpardonable, we believe, in the eyes of our author and his friends; it gives the whole merit of the contrivance to Mr Watt himself.

The reasoning we suppose to have passed in his mind, is the following. By means of the angular motion of the beam of the steam engine, it is easy to make any point move in the circumference of a circle with a reciprocating motion. If it is the end of a beam or bar which is made to move in this manner, the other end of it may also be made to move in another circle, by fixing it with a joint, to a radius which has its other extremity fixed to a given point. We shall thus have a beam of a given length, moving up and down with its extremities in circles, which turn their convexity towards one another. Between these two extremities, therefore, it should seem that there must be one point that will have the convexity of its path turned neither way, if one may speak so; that is to say, will be neither concave nor convex, but straight for a certain portion of its ascent and descent. This was a simple view of the matter, such as much practice in the construction of machinery would very readily suggest to a man of ingenuity, used to reflect on the gradual transition by which all changes in the quantity, or direction of motion, are effected. If, after taking this general view of the matter, he should make an appeal to a geometrical construction, he would find his conjecture completely verified, and would soon perceive in what manner the *data* of the problem might be so varied as to give to the line described, whatever position was required. We are very fully convinced, that it was in this way that Mr Watt's discovery was made; and we shall continue to believe so, till we have his own evidence for the contrary. It is certainly more probable that he was guided by the simple and direct, though perhaps refined reasoning just mentioned, than by any thing so circuitous and indirect as the study of a complicated machine, with which the thing to be found out is very remotely, if at all connected.

But, however the invention was suggested, it must on all hands be acknowledged, that it possesses as large a share of mechanical excellence as any single contrivance whatsoever; and does as much credit to the ingenuity of the inventor.

On the whole, when we look back on what is here so improperly called a description of the steam engine, and which, in reality, is nothing else than a coarse and illiberal invective against the inventor, full of hints and surmises that cannot be supported, or of affirmations that can be completely disproved;—though we can form some notion of the motives by which the author was actuated, we are utterly at a loss to discover those by which the editor was influenced, or to find out any argument by which he can justify his conduct. Had the memoir he has now chosen to give to the world contained any valuable and new information, the manner, however clumsy and rude, might have been overlooked; though the attempt to do injustice ought not, even on that account, to have been tolerated. But we can perceive no inducement whatever for the insertion of the memoir. Considered as a description of a mechanical contrivance, it is exceedingly defective; its parts are ill arranged, and loosely connected; the reasonings vague, and the information inaccurate; so that it is in every thing a model of the taste, temper, and style which ought carefully to be avoided by any one who would explain the principles, or relate the history of improvements, whether in science or in art.

The man who countenances such illiberal proceedings, not only injures an individual, but, in reality, does all he can to obstruct the progress of those improvements which he professes to explain. It is of the utmost consequence to that progress, that every inventor should be as much as possible assured of the reward to which his discoveries naturally entitle him. In estimating the extent of that reward, we must give the first place to the satisfaction a man feels from the exercise of his own ingenuity, from the activity he exerts, and from the prospect of being serviceable to mankind. This greatest and most direct reward, which nature has inseparably connected with the exertions of genius, it is happily not in the power of malignity or accident to disappoint. The second branch of the reward, is the fame, the honour and reputation, to which invention in the sciences or the arts has a just claim. The emolument and wealth to which it may occasionally lead, comes only in the third place; and, with the men most likely to invent or to discover, will readily be postponed to both the other two.

These two last branches of the reward of merit, are not, like the first, necessarily or constantly secured to it. The second,

cond, indeed, is of peculiar delicacy, and easily affected by envy and misrepresentation. Of this, Mr Watt has experienced an abundant share; and there are certainly few men whose claims to originality have been subjected to so severe a trial, or established by so large a body of legal evidence. We rejoice that he is now in the possession of the ease and affluence to which the services he has rendered to his country, and to the world at large, do so well entitle him. It is not the business of a friend of science; of one interested only for truth and justice, to trouble the repose of an eminent man, retired from active life, and enjoying the fruits of a well earned and justly deserved reputation.

ART. IV. *Statement of the Proceedings of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, from July 9. to November 12., read at their General Meeting, held November 12. 1804. With an Appendix, containing the Plan of the Society, &c. &c. &c.* London. 1804.

An Address to the Public from the Society for the Suppression of Vice, instituted in London 1802. Part the Second. Containing an Account of the Proceedings of the Society from its Original Institution. London. 1804.

A SOCIETY, that holds out as its object the suppression of vice, must at first sight conciliate the favour of every respectable person; and he who objects to an institution, calculated apparently to do so much good, is bound to give very clear and satisfactory reasons for his dissent from so popular an opinion. We certainly have, for a long time, had doubts of its utility; and now think ourselves called upon to state the grounds of our distrust.

Though it were clear that individual informers are useful auxiliaries to the administration of the laws, it would by no means follow, that these informers should be allowed to combine,—to form themselves into a body,—to make a public purse,—and to prosecute under a common name. An informer, whether he is paid by the week, like the agents of this Society—or by the crime, as in common cases—is, in general, a man of very indifferent character. So much fraud and deception are necessary for carrying on his trade,—it is so odious to his fellow-subjects,—that no man of respectability will ever undertake it. It is evidently impossible to make such a character otherwise than odious. A man who receives weekly pay for prying into the transgressions of mankind, and bringing them to consequent punishment, will always be hated by

mankind; and the office must fall to the lot of some man of desperate fortunes and ambiguous character. The multiplication, therefore, of such officers, and the extensive patronage of such characters, may, by the management of large and opulent societies, become an evil nearly as great as the evils they would suppress. The alarm which a private and disguised accuser occasions in a neighbourhood, is known to be prodigious, not only to the guilty, but to those who may be at once innocent, and ignorant, and timid. The destruction of social confidence is another evil, the consequence of information. An informer gets access to my house or family,—worms my secret out of me;—and then betrays me to the magistrate. Now, all these evils may be tolerated in a small degree, while, in a greater degree, they would be perfectly intolerable. Thirty or forty informers roaming about the metropolis, may frighten the mass of offenders a little, and do some good: ten thousand informers would either create an insurrection, or totally destroy the confidence and cheerfulness of private life. Whatever may be said, therefore, of the single and insulated informer, it is quite a new question when we come to a corporation of informers, supported by large contributions. The one may be a good, the other a very serious evil; the one legal, the other wholly out of the contemplation of law,—which often, and very wisely, allows individuals to do, what it forbids to many individuals assembled.

If once combination is allowed for the suppression of vice, where are its limits to be? Its capital may as well consist of 100,000*l. per annum*, as of a thousand: its numbers may increase from a thousand subscribers, which this society, it seems, had reached in its second year, to twenty thousand: and, in that case, what accused person, of an inferior condition of life, would have the temerity to stand against such a society? Their mandates would very soon be law; and there is no compliance into which they might not frighten the common people, and the lower orders of tradesmen. The idea of a society of gentlemen, calling themselves an Association for the Suppression of Vice, would alarm any small offender, to a degree that would make him prefer any submission to any resistance. He would consider the very fact of being accused by them, as almost sufficient to ruin him.

An individual accuser accuses at his own expense; and the risk he runs is a good security that the subject will not be harassed by needless accusations,—a security which, of course, he cannot have against such a society as this, to whom pecuniary loss is an object of such little consequence. It must never be forgotten, that this is not a society for *punishing* people who have been found to transgress the law, but for *accusing* persons of transgressing

gressing the law; and that, before trial, the accused person is to be considered as innocent, and is to have every fair chance of establishing his innocence. He must be no common defendant, however, who does not contend against such a society with very fearful odds. The best counsel engaged for his opponents,—great practice in the particular court and particular species of cause,—witnesses thoroughly hackneyed in a court of justice,—and an unlimited command of money. It by no means follows, that the legislature, in allowing individuals to be informers, meant to subject the accused person to the superior weight and power of such societies. The very influence of names must have a considerable weight with the jury. Lord Dartmouth, Lord Radstock, and the Bishop of Durham, *versus* a Whitechapel butcher or a publican!—Is this a fair contest before a jury? It is not so even in London; and what must it be in the country, where a society for the suppression of vice may consist of all the principal persons in the neighbourhood? These societies are now established in York, in Reading, and in many other large towns. Wherever this is the case, it is far from improbable that the same persons, at the Quarter or Town sessions, may be both judges and accusers; and still more fatally so, if the offence is tried by a special jury. This is already most notoriously the case in societies for the preservation of game. They prosecute a poacher;—the jury is special;—and the poor wretch is found guilty by the very same persons who have accused him.

If it is lawful for respectable men to combine for the purpose of turning informers, it is lawful for the lowest and most despicable race of informers to do the same thing; and then it is quite clear that every species of wickedness and extortion would be the consequence. We are rather surprised that no society of perjured attornies and fraudulent bankrupts has risen up in this metropolis for the suppression of vice. A chairman, deputy-chairman, subscriptions, and an annual sermon, would give great dignity to their proceedings; and they would soon begin to take some rank in the world.

It is true that it is the duty of grand juries to inform against vice; but the law knows the probable number of grand jurymen, the times of their meeting, and the description of persons of whom they consist. Of voluntary societies it can know nothing,—their numbers, their wealth, or the character of their members. It may therefore trust to a grand jury, what it would by no means trust to an unknown combination. A vast distinction is to be made, too, between official duties and voluntary duties. The first are commonly carried on with calmness and moderation; the latter often characterized, in their execution, by rash and intemperate zeal.

The present Society receives no members but those who are of the Church of England. As we are now arguing the question generally, we have a right to make any supposition. It is equally free, therefore, upon general principles, for a society of sectarians to combine, and exclude members of the church of England; and the suppression of vice may thus come in aid of Methodism, of Jacobinism, or of any set of principles, however perilous, either to church or state. The present Society may perhaps consist of persons whose sentiments on these points are rational and respectable. Combinations however of this sort may give birth to something far different; and such a supposition is the fair way of trying the question.

We doubt if there be not some mischief in averting the fears and hopes of the people from the known and constituted authorities of the country to those self-created powers;—a Society that punishes in the Strand,—another which rewards at Lloyd's Coffee-House! If these things get to any great height, they throw an air of insignificance over those branches of the government to whom these cares properly devolve, and whose authority is by these means assisted, till it is superseded. It is supposed that a project must necessarily be good, because it is intended for the aid of law and government. At this rate, there should be a society in aid of the government, for procuring intelligence from foreign parts, with accredited agents all over Europe. There should be a voluntary transport board, and a gratuitous victualling office. There should be a duplicate, in short, of every department of the state,—the one appointed by the King, and the other by itself. There should be a real Lord Glenbervie in the woods and forests,—and with him a monster, a voluntary Lord Glenbervie, serving without pay, and guiding *gratis*, with secret counsel, the axe of his prototype. If it be asked, who are the constituted authorities who are legally appointed to watch over morals, and whose functions the Society usurp? Our answer is, that there are in England about 12,000 clergy, not unhandsomely paid for persuading the people, and about 4000 justices, 30 grand juries, and 40,000 constables, whose duty and whose inclination it is to compel them to do right. Under such circumstances, a voluntary moral society does indeed seem to be the purest result of volition; for there certainly is not the smallest particle of necessity mingled with its existence.

It is hardly possible that a society for the suppression of vice can ever be kept within the bounds of good sense and moderation. If there are many members who have really become so from a feeling of duty, there will necessarily be some who enter the Society to hide a bad character, and others whose object it is to recommend

commend themselves to their betters by a sedulous and bustling inquisition into the immoralities of the public. The loudest and noisiest suppressers will always carry it against the more prudent part of the community; the most violent will be considered as the most moral; and those who see the absurdity will, from the fear of being thought to encourage vice, be reluctant to oppose it.

It is of great importance to keep public opinion on the side of virtue. To their authorized and legal correctors, mankind are, on common occasions, ready enough to submit; but there is something in the self-erection of a voluntary magistracy which creates so much disgust, that it almost renders vice popular, and puts the offence at a premium. We have no doubt but that the immediate effect of a voluntary combination for the suppression of vice, is an involuntary combination in favour of the vices to be suppressed; and this is a very serious drawback from any good of which such societies may be the occasion; for the state of morals, at any one period, depends much more upon opinion, than law; and to bring odious and disgusting auxiliaries to the aid of virtue, is to do the utmost possible good to the cause of vice. We regret that mankind are as they are; and we sincerely wish, that the species at large were as completely devoid of every vice and infirmity, as the President, Vice-President, and Committee, of the Suppressing Society; but, till they are thus regenerated, it is of the greatest consequence to teach them virtue and religion in a manner which will not make them hate both the one and the other. The greatest delicacy is required in the application of violence to moral and religious sentiment. We forget, that the object is not, to produce the outward compliance, but to raise up the inward feeling, which secures the outward compliance. You may drag men into church by main force, and prosecute them for buying a pot of beer, —and cut them off from the enjoyment of a leg of mutton;—and you may do all this, till you make the common people hate Sunday, and the clergy, and religion, and every thing which relates to such subjects. There are many crimes, indeed, where persuasion cannot be waited for, and where the untaught feelings of all men go along with the violence of the law. A robber and a murderer must be knocked on the head like mad dogs; but we have no great opinion of the possibility of indicting men into piety, or of calling in the quarter-sessions to the aid of religion. You may produce outward conformity by these means; but you are so far from producing (the only thing worth producing) the inward feeling, that you incur a great risk of giving birth to a totally opposite sentiment.

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The violent modes of making men good, just alluded to, have been resorted to at periods when the science of legislation was not so well understood as it now is; or when the manners of the age have been peculiarly gloomy or fanatical. The improved knowledge, and the improved temper of later times, push such laws into the back ground, and silently repeal them. A Suppressing Society, hunting every where for penalty and information, has a direct tendency to revive antient ignorance and fanaticism,—and to reenact laws which, if ever they ought to have existed at all, were certainly calculated for a very different style of manners, and a very different degree of information. To compel men to go to church under a penalty, appears to us to be absolutely absurd. The bitterest enemy of religion will necessarily be that person who is driven to a compliance with its outward ceremonies, by informers and justices of the peace. In the same manner, any constable who hears another swear an oath, has a right to seize him, and carry him before a magistrate, where he is to be fined so much for each execration. It is impossible to carry such laws into execution; and it is lucky that it is impossible,—for their execution would create an infinitely greater evil than it attempted to remedy. The common sense, and common feeling of mankind, if left to themselves, would silently repeal such laws; and it is one of the evils of these societies, that they render absurdity eternal, and ignorance indestructible. Do not let us be misunderstood: upon the object to be accomplished, there can be but one opinion;—it is only upon the means employed, that there can be the slightest difference of sentiment. To go to church is a duty of the greatest possible importance; and on the blasphemy and vulgarity of swearing, there can be but one opinion. But such duties are not the objects of legislation; they must be left to the general state of public sentiment; which sentiment must be influenced by example, by the exertions of the pulpit and the press, and, above all, by education. The fear of God can never be taught by constables, nor the pleasures of religion be learnt from a common informer.

Beginning with the best intentions in the world, such societies must in all probability degenerate into a receptacle for every species of title-tattle, impertinence, and malice. Men, whose trade is rat-catching, love to catch rats; the bug destroyer seizes on his bug with delight; and the suppresser is gratified by finding his vice. The last soon becomes a mere tradesman like the others; none of them moralize, or lament that their respective evils should exist in the world. The public feeling is swallowed up in the pursuit of a daily occupation, and in the display of a technical skill. Here, then, is a society of men, who invite accusation,

cusation,—who receive it (almost unknown to themselves) with pleasure,—and who, if they hate dulness and inoccupation, can have very little pleasure in the innocence of their fellow creatures. The natural consequence of all this is, that (beside that portion of rumour which every member contributes at the weekly meeting) their table must be covered with anonymous lies against the characters of individuals. Every servant discharged from his master's service,—every villain who hates the man he has injured, —every cowardly assassin of character,—now knows where his accusations will be received, and where they cannot fail to produce some portion of the mischievous effects which he wishes. The very first step of such a Society should be, to declare, in the plainest manner, that they would never receive any anonymous accusation. This would be the only security to the public, that they were not degrading themselves into a receptacle for malice and falsehood. Such a declaration would inspire some species of confidence; and make us believe that their object was neither the love of power, nor the gratification of uncharitable feelings. The Society for the Suppression, however, have done no such thing: They request, indeed, the signature of the informers whom they invite; but they do not (as they ought) make that signature an indispensable condition.

Nothing has disgusted us so much in the proceedings of this Society, as the controul which they exercise over the amusements of the Poor. One of the specious titles under which this legal meanness is gratified is, *Prevention of cruelty to animals.*

Of cruelty to animals, let the reader take the following specimens.

Running an iron hook in the intestines of an animal; presenting this first animal to another as his food; and then pulling this second creature up, and suspending him by the barb in his stomach.

Riding a horse till he drops, in order to see an innocent animal torn to pieces by dogs.

Keeping a poor animal upright for many weeks, to communicate a peculiar hardness to his flesh.

Making deep incisions into the flesh of another animal, while living, in order to make the muscles more firm.

Immersing another animal, while living, in hot water.

Now we do fairly admit, that such abominable cruelties as these are worthy of the interference of the law: and, that the Society should have punished them, cannot be matter of surprise to any feeling mind.——But stop, gentle reader! these cruelties are the cruelties of the Suppressing Committee, not of the poor. You must not think of punishing these.—The first of these cruelties passes under the pretty name of *angling*;—and therefore there

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can be no harm in it—the more particularly as the President himself has one of the best preserved trout streams in England.—The next is *hunting*;—and as many of the Vice-Presidents and of the Committee hunt, it is not possible there can be any cruelty in hunting. * The next is, a process for making *brawn*; a dish never tasted by the poor,—and therefore, not to be disturbed by indictment. The fourth is the mode of *crimping* cod; and the fifth of boiling lobsters;—all high-life cruelties, with which a justice of the peace has no business to meddle. The real thing which calls forth the sympathies, and harrows up the soul, is to see a number of boisterous artisans baiting a bull, or a bear;—not a savage hare, or a carnivorous stag,—but a poor, innocent, timid bear;—not pursued by magistrates, and deputy-lieutenants, and men of education,—but by those who must necessarily seek their relaxation in noise and tumultuous merriment,—by men whose feelings are blunted, and whose understanding is wholly devoid of refinement. The Society detail, with symptoms of great complacency, their detection of a bear-baiting in Black-Boy Alley, Chick Lane, and the prosecution of the offenders before a magistrate. It appears to us, that nothing can be more partial and unjust than this kind of proceedings. A man of ten thousand a year may worry a fox as much as he pleases,—may encourage the breed of a mischievous animal on purpose to worry it; and a poor labourer is carried before a magistrate for paying sixpence to see an exhibition of courage between a dog and a bear! Any cruelty may be practised to gorge the stomachs of the rich,—none to enliven the holidays of the poor. We venerate those feelings which really protect creatures susceptible of pain, and incapable of complaint. But heaven-born pity, now-a-days, calls for the income tax, and the court guide; and ascertains the rank and fortune of the tormentor before she weeps for the pain of the sufferer. It is astonishing how the natural feelings of mankind are distorted by false theories. Nothing can be more mischievous than to say, that the pain inflicted by the dog of a man of quality, is not (when the strength of the two animals is the same) equal to that produced

* 'How reasonable creatures' (says the Society) 'can enjoy a pastime which is the cause of such sufferings to brute animals, or how they can consider themselves entitled, for their own amusement, to stimulate those animals, by means of the antipathies which Providence has thought proper to place between them, to worry and tear, and often to destroy each other, it is difficult to conceive. So inhuman a practice, by a retribution peculiarly just, tends obviously to render the human character brutal and ferocious,' &c. &c. *Address*, p. 71, 72. We take it for granted, that the reader sees clearly that no part of this description can possibly apply to the case of *hunting*.

produced by the cur of a butcher. Haller, in his Pathology, expressly says, *that the animal bitten, knows no difference in the quality of the biting animal's master*; and it is now the universal opinion among all enlightened men, that the misery of the brawner would be very little diminished, if he could be made sensible that he was to be eaten up only by persons of the first fashion. The contrary supposition seems to us to be absolute nonsense; it is the desertion of the true *Baconian* philosophy, and the substitution of mere unsupported conjecture in its place.

The trespass, however, which calls forth all the energies of a suppresser, is the sound of a fiddle. That the common people are really enjoying themselves, is now beyond all doubt: and away rush Secretary, President, and Committee, to clap the cotillon into the Compter, and to bring back the life of the poor to its regular standard of decorous gloom. The gambling houses of St James's remain untouched. The peer ruins himself and his family with impunity; while the Irish labourer is privately whipped for not making a better use of the excellent moral, and religious education which he has received in the days of his youth!

It is not true, as urged by the Society, that the vices of the poor are carried on in houses of public resort, and those of the rich in their own houses. The Society cannot be ignorant of the innumerable gambling houses resorted to by men of fashion. Is there one they have suppressed, or attempted to suppress?—Can any thing be more despicable than such distinctions as these? Those who make them, seem to have for other persons' vices, all the rigour of the antient Puritans—without a particle of their honesty, or their courage. To suppose that any society will ever attack the vices of people of fashion, is wholly out of the question. If the Society consisted of tradesmen, they would infallibly be turned off by the vicious customers whose pleasures they interrupted; and what gentleman so fond of suppressing, as to interfere with the vices of good company, and inform against persons who were really genteel? He knows very well, that the consequence of such interference, would be a complete exclusion from elegant society; that the upper classes could not, and would not endure it, and that he must immediately lose his rank in the world, if his zeal subjected fashionable offenders to the slightest inconvenience from the law. Nothing, therefore, remains, but to rage against the Sunday dinners of the poor, and to prevent a bricklayer's labourers from losing, on the seventh day, that beard which has been augmenting the other six. We see at the head of this Society, the names of several noblemen, and of other persons moving in the fashionable world. Is it possible they can be ignorant of the innumerable offences against the law

and morality which are committed by their own acquaintances and connexions. Is there one single instance where they have directed the attention of the Society to this higher species of suppression, and sacrificed men of consideration to that zeal for virtue, which watches so acutely over the vices of the poor? It would give us no sort of pleasure to see a dutchess sent to the Poultry Compter; but if we saw the Society flying at such high game, we should at least say they were honest and courageous, whatever judgment we might form of their good sense. At present they should denominate themselves a Society for suppressing the vices of persons whose income does not exceed 500*l. per annum*; and then, to put all classes upon an equal footing, there must be another society of barbers, butchers and bakers, to return to the higher classes that moral care, by which they are so highly benefited.

To show how impossible it is to keep such societies within any kind of bounds, we shall quote a passage respecting circulating libraries from their proceedings.

'Your Committee have good reasons for believing, that the circulation of their notices among the printsellers, warning them against the sale or exhibition of indecent representations, has produced, and continues to produce the best effects.

'But they have to lament, that the extended establishments of circulating libraries, however useful they may be, in a variety of respects, to the easy and general diffusion of knowledge, are extremely injurious to morals and religion, by the indiscriminate admission which they give to works of a prurient and immoral nature. It is a toilsome task to any virtuous and enlightened mind, to wade through the catalogues of these collections, and much more to select such books from them as have only an apparent bad tendency. But your Committee being convinced that their attention ought to be directed to those institutions which possess such powerful and numerous means of poisoning the minds of young persons, and especially of the female youth, have therefore begun to make some endeavours towards their better regulation.' *Statement of the Proceedings for* 1804, p. 11, 12.

In the same spirit, we see them writing to a country magistrate in Devonshire, respecting a wake advertised in the public papers. Nothing can be more presumptuous than such conduct, or produce, in the minds of impartial men, a more decisive impression against the Society.

The natural answer from the members of the Society (the only answer they ever have made to the enemies of their institution) will be, that we are lovers of vice,—desirous of promoting indecency, of destroying the Sabbath, and of leaving mankind to the unrestrained gratification of their passions. We have only very calmly

calmly to reply, that we are neither so stupid nor so wicked, as not to concur in every scheme, which has for its object the preservation of rational religion and sound morality;—but the scheme must be well concerted,—and those who are to carry it into execution must deserve our confidence, from their talents and their character. Upon religion and morals depends the happiness of mankind;—but the fortune of knaves and the power of fools is sometimes made to rest on the same apparent basis; and we will never (if we can help it) allow a rogue to get rich, or a blockhead to get powerful, under the sanction of these awful words. We do not by any means intend to apply these contemptuous epithets to the Society for the Suppression. That there are among their number some very odious hypocrites, is not impossible; that many men who believe they come there from the love of virtue, do really join the Society from the love of power, we do not doubt: but we see no reason to doubt that the great mass of subscribers consist of persons who have very sincere intentions of doing good. That they have, in some instances, done a great deal of good, we admit with the greatest pleasure. We believe, that in the hands of truly honest, intrepid, and above all, discreet men, such a society might become a valuable institution, improve in some degree the public morals, and increase the public happiness. So many qualities, however, are required to carry it on well,—the temptations to absurdity and impertinence are so very great,—that we despair of ever seeing our wishes upon this subject realized. In the present instance, our object has been, to suppress the arrogance of suppressers,—to keep them within due bounds,—to show them, that to do good requires a little more talent and reflection than they are aware of,—and, above all, to impress upon them, that true zeal for virtue knows no distinction between the rich and the poor; and that the cowardly and the mean can never be the true friends of morality, and the promoters of human happiness. If they attend to these rough doctrines, they will ever find in the writers of this Journal their warmest admirers, and their most sincere advocates and friends.

ART. V. *Letters from a late Eminent Prelate to one of his Friends.* 4to. pp. 380. Kidderminster, 1808.

WARBURTON, we think, was the last of our *great* divines—the last, perhaps, of any profession who united profound learning with great powers of understanding, and, along with vast and varied stores of acquired knowledge, possessed energy

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of mind enough to wield them with ease and activity. The days of the Cudworths and Barrows—the Hookers and Taylors, are gone by. Among the other divisions of intellectual labour to which the progress of society has given birth, the business of reasoning, and the business of collecting knowledge, have been, in a great measure, put into separate hands. Our scholars are now little else than pedants, and antiquaries, and grammarians,—who have never exercised any faculty but memory; and our reasoners are, for the most part, but slenderly provided with learning; or, at any rate, make but a slender use of it in their reasoning. Of the two, the reasoners are by far the best off; and, upon many subjects, have really profited by the separation. Argument from authority is, in general, the weakest and the most tedious of all arguments; and learning, we are inclined to believe, has more frequently played the part of a bully than of a fair auxiliary; and been oftener used to frighten people, than to convince them,—to dazzle and overawe, rather than to guide and enlighten. A modern writer would not, if he could, reason as Barrow and Cudworth often reason; and every reader, even of Warburton, must have felt that his learning often encumbers rather than assists his progress, and, like shining armour, adds more to his terrors than to his strength. The true theory of this separation may be, therefore, that scholars who are capable of reasoning, have ceased to make a parade of their scholarship; while those, who have nothing else, must continue to set it forward—just as gentlemen now-a-days keep their gold in their pockets, instead of wearing it on their clothes—while the fashion of laced suits still prevails among their domestics. There are individuals, however, who think that a man of rank looks most dignified in cut velvet and embroidery, and that one who is not a gentleman can now counterfeit that appearance a little too easily. We do not presume to settle so weighty a dispute;—we only take the liberty of observing, that Warburton lived to see the fashion go out; and was almost the last native gentleman who appeared in a full trimmed coat.

He was not only the last of our reasoning scholars, but the last also, we think, of our powerful polemics. This breed too, we take it, is extinct;—and we are not sorry for it. Those men cannot be much regreted, who, instead of applying their great and active faculties in making their fellows better or wiser, or in promoting mutual kindness and cordiality among all the virtuous and enlightened, wasted their days in wrangling upon idle theories, and in applying, to the speculative errors of their equals in talents and in virtue, those terms of angry reprobation which should be reserved for vice and malignity. In neither of these characters,

characters, therefore, can we seriously lament that Warburton is not likely to have any successor.

The truth is, that this extraordinary person was a Giant in literature—with many of the vices of the Gigantic character. Strong as he was, his excessive pride and overweening vanity, were perpetually engaging him in enterprises which he could not accomplish; while such was his intolerable arrogance towards his opponents, and his insolence towards those whom he reckoned as his inferiors, that he made himself very generally and deservedly odious, and ended by doing considerable injury to the cause which he intended to support. The novelty and the boldness of his manner—the resentment of his antagonists—and the consternation of his friends, insured him a considerable share of public attention at the beginning; but such was the repulsion of his moral qualities as a writer, and the fundamental unsoundness of most of his speculations, that he no sooner ceased to write, than he ceased to be read or inquired after,—and lived to see those erudite volumes fairly laid on the shelf, which he fondly expected to carry down a growing fame to posterity.

The history of Warburton, indeed, is uncommonly curious, and his fate instructive. He was bred an attorney at Newark; and probably derived, from his early practice in that capacity, that love of controversy, and that habit of scurrility, for which he was afterwards distinguished. His first literary associates were some of the heroes of the Dunciad; and his first literary adventure the publication of some poems, which well entitled him to a place among those worthies. He helped 'pilfering Tibbalds' to some notes upon Shakespeare, and spoke contemptuously of Mr Pope's talents, and severely of his morals, in his letters to Concannen. He then hired his pen to prepare a volume on the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery; and having now entered the church, made a more successful endeavour to magnify his profession, and to attract notice to himself by the publication of his once famous book on 'the Alliance between Church and State,' in which all the presumption and ambition of his nature was first made manifest.

By this time he seems to have passed over from the party of the Dunces to that of Pope; and proclaimed his conversion pretty abruptly, by writing an elaborate defence of the Essay on Man, from some imputations which had been thrown on its theology and morality. Pope received the services of this voluntary champion with great gratitude; and Warburton having now discovered that he was not only a great poet, but a very honest man, continued to cultivate his friendship with great assiduity, and with very notable success; for Pope introduced him to Mr Murray, who

made him preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and to Mr Allen of Prior-Park, who gave him his niece in marriage,—obtained a bishopric for him,—and left him his whole estate. In the mean time, he published his 'Divine Legation of Moses,'—the most learned, most arrogant, and most absurd work, which has been produced in England for a century;—and his editions of Pope, and of Shakespeare, in which he was scarcely less outrageous and fantastical. He replied to some of his answerers in a style full of insolence and brutal scurrility; and not only poured out the most tremendous abuse on the infidelities of Bolingbroke and Hume, but found occasion to quarrel with Drs Middleton, Lowth, Jortin, Leland, and indeed almost every name distinguished for piety and learning in England. At the same time, he indited the most highflown adulation to Lord Chesterfield, and contrived to keep himself in the good graces of Lord Mansfield and Lord Hardwicke;—while, in the midst of affluence and honours, he was continually exclaiming against the barbarity of the age in rewarding genius so frugally, and in not calling in the aid of the civil magistrate to put down fanaticism and infidelity. The public, however, at last, grew weary of these blustering novelties. The bishop, as old age stole upon him, began to doze in his mitre; and though Dr Richard Hurd, with the true spirit of an underling, persisted in keeping up the petty traffic of reciprocal encomiums, yet Warburton was lost to the public long before he sunk into dotage, and lay dead as an author for many years of his natural existence.

We have imputed this rapid decline of his reputation, partly to the unsoundness of his general speculations, and chiefly to the offensiveness of his manner. The fact is admitted even by those who pretend to regret it; and, whatever Dr Hurd may have thought, it must have had other causes than the decay of public virtue and taste.

In fact, when we look quietly and soberly over the vehement and imposing treatises of Warburton, it is scarcely possible not to perceive, that almost every thing that is original in his doctrine or propositions is erroneous; and that his great gifts of learning and argumentation have been bestowed on a vain attempt to give currency to untenable paradoxes. His powers and his skill in controversy may indeed conceal, from a careless reader, the radical fallacy of his reasoning; and as, in the course of the argument, he frequently has the better of his adversaries upon incidental and collateral topics, and never fails to make his triumph resound over the whole field of battle, it is easy to understand how he should, for a while, have got the credit of a victory, which is now generally adjudged to his opponents. The object of 'the

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Divine Legation,' for inſtance, is to prove, that the miſſion of Moſes was certainly from God,—becauſe his ſyſtem is the only one which does *not* teach the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments! And the object of 'the Alliance' is to ſhow, that the church (that is, as he explains it, all the adherents of the church of England) is entitled to a legal *eſtabliſhment*, and the protection of a *test law*,—becauſe it conſtitutes *a ſeparate ſociety* from that which is concerned in the civil government, and, being equally ſovereign and independent, is therefore entitled to treat with it on a footing of perfect equality. The ſixth book of Virgil, we are told, in like manner, contains merely the deſcription of the myſteries of Eleuſis; and the badneſs of the New Teſtament Greek is a concluſive proof of the eloquence and inſpiration of its authors. Theſe fancies, it appears to us, require no refutation; and, dazzled and aſtoniſhed as we are at the rich and variegated tiſſue of learning and argument with which their author has inveſted their extravagance, we conceive that no man of a ſound and plain underſtanding can ever miſtake them for truths, or waver, in the leaſt degree, from the conviction which his own reflection muſt afford of their abſurdity.

The caſe is very nearly the ſame with his ſubordinate general propoſitions, which, in ſo far as they are original, are all brought forward with the parade of great diſcoveries, and yet appear to us among the moſt futile and erroneous of modern ſpeculations. We are tempted to mention two, which we think we have ſeen referred to by later writers with ſome degree of approbation, and which, at any rate, make a capital figure in all the fundamental philoſophy of Warburton. The one relates to the neceſſary imperfection of human laws, as dealing in puniſhments only, and not in rewards alſo. The other concerns his notion of the ultimate foundation of moral obligation.

The very baſis of his argument for the neceſſity of the doctrine of a future ſtate to the well-being of ſociety, is, that, by human laws, the conduct of men is only controuled by the fear of puniſhment, and not excited by the hope of reward. *Both* theſe ſanctions, however, he contends, are neceſſary to regulate our actions, and keep the world in order; and therefore, legiſlators, not finding rewards in this world, have always been obliged to connect it with a future world, in which they have held out that they would be beſtowed on all deſervers. It is ſcarcely poſſible, we believe, to put this moſt important doctrine on a more injudicious foundation; and if this were the only ground either for believing or inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate, we ſhould tremble at the advantages which the infidel would have in the conteſt. We ſhall not detain our readers longer, than juſt to point out three obvious fallacies in this,

the moſt vaunted and confident, perhaps, of all the Warburtonian dogmata. In the *first* place, it is obvious that *disorders* in ſociety can ſcarcely be ſaid to be prevented by the hope of future rewards. The proper uſe of that doctrine is, not to repreſs vice, but to conſole affliction. Vice and diſorder are quelled by the dread of future puniſhment. The deſpondency and diſtreſs that are ſoothed by the proſpect of future bliſs, are not *disorders* within the purview of the legiſlator. In the *second* place, it is obviouſly not true that human laws are *necessarily* deficient in the article of providing rewards. In many inſtances, their enactments have this direct object; and it is obvious, that if it was thought eſſential to the well-being of ſociety, they might reward as often as they puniſh. But, in the *third* place, the whole argument proceeds upon a groſs and unaccountable miſapprehenſion of the nature and object of legiſlation;—a very brief explanation of which will ſhow, both that the temporal rewards of virtue are juſt as ſure as the temporal puniſhments of vice, and at the ſame time explain why the law has ſo ſeldom interfered to enforce the former. The law aroſe from human feelings and notions of juſtice; and thoſe feelings and notions were, of courſe, before the law. The natural and neceſſary effect of kind and virtuous conduct is, to excite love, gratitude, and benevolence;—the effect of injury and vice is to excite reſentment, anger, and revenge. While there was no law and no magiſtrate, men muſt have acted upon thoſe feelings, and acted upon them in their whole extent. He who rendered kindneſs, received kindneſs; and he who inflicted pain and ſuffering, was ſooner or later overtaken by retorted pain and ſuffering. Virtue was rewarded therefore, and vice puniſhed, at all times; and both, we muſt ſuppoſe, in the ſame meaſure and degree. The reward of virtue, however, produced no diſturbance or diſorder; and, after ſociety ſubmitted to regulation, was ſafely left in the hands of gratitude and ſympathetic kindneſs. It was otherwiſe with the puniſhment of vice. Reſentment and revenge tended always to a dangerous exceſs,—were liable to be aſſumed as the pretext for unprovoked aggreſſion,—and, at all events, had a tendency to reproduce revenge and reſentment, in an interminable ſeries of violence and outrage. The law, therefore, took this duty into its own hands. It did not invent, or impoſe for the firſt time, that ſanction of puniſhment which was coeval with vice and with ſociety, and is implied, indeed, in the very notion of injury:—it only transferred the right of applying it from the injured individual to the public; and tempered its application by more impartial and extenſive views of the circumſtances of the delinquency. But if the puniſhment of vice be not ultimately derived from law, neither is the reward of virtue; and although human

human paſſions made it neceſſary for law to undertake the regulation of that puniſhment, it evidently would not add to its perfection, to make it alſo the diſtributer of rewards, unleſs it could be ſhown, that a ſimilar diſorder was likely to ariſe from leaving theſe to the individuals affected. It is obvious, however, not only that there is no likelihood of ſuch a diſorder, but that ſuch an interference would be abſurd and impracticable. It is true, therefore, that human laws do in general provide puniſhments only, and not rewards; but it is not true, that they are, on this account, imperfect or defective, or that human conduct is not actually regulated by the love of happineſs, as much as by the dread of ſuffering. The doctrine of a future ſtate adds, no doubt, prodigiouſly to *both* theſe motives; but it is a raſh, a preſumptuous, and, we think, a moſt ſhortſighted and narrow view of the caſe, to ſuppoſe, that it is chiefly the impoſſibility of rewarding virtue on earth, that has led legiſlators to ſecure the peace of ſociety, by referring it for its recompenſe to Heaven.

The other dogma to which we alluded, is advanced with equal confidence and pretension; and is, if possible, still more shallow and erroneous. Speculative moralists had been formerly contented with referring moral obligation, either to a moral sense, or to a perception of utility;—Warburton, without much ceremony, put both these together: But his grand discovery is, that even this tie is not strong enough; and that the idea of moral obligation is altogether incomplete and imperfect, unless it be made to rest also on *the will of a superior.* There is no point in all his philosophy, of which he is more vain than of this pretended discovery; and he speaks of it, we are persuaded, twenty times, without once suspecting the gross fallacy which it involves. The fallacy is not, however, in stating an erroneous proposition—for it is certainly true, that the command of a superior will generally constitute an obligation: it lies altogether in supposing that this is a separate or additional ground of obligation,—and in not seeing that this vaunted discovery of a third principle for the foundation of morality, was in fact nothing but an individual instance or exemplification of the principle of utility. Why are we bound by the will of a superior?—evidently for no other reason, than because superiority implies a *power* to affect our *happiness;* and the expression of will assures us, that our happiness will be affected by our disobedience. An obligation is something which constrains or induces us to act;—but there neither is nor can be any other motive for the actions of rational and sentient beings, than the love of happiness. It is the desire of happiness—well or ill understood—seen widely or narrowly,—that necessarily dictates all our actions, and is at the bottom of all our conceptions of

morality or duty: and the will of a superior can only constitute a ground of obligation, by connecting itself with this single and universal agent. If it were possible to disjoin the idea of our own happiness or suffering from the idea of a superior, it is obvious, that we should no longer be under any obligation to conform to the will of that superior. If we should be equally secure of happiness—in mind and in body—in time and in eternity, by disobeying his will, as by complying with it, it is evidently altogether inconceivable, that the expression of that will should impose any obligation upon us: and although it be true that we cannot suppose such a case, it is not the less a fallacy to represent the will of a superior as a third and additional ground of obligation, newly discovered by this author, and superadded to the old principle of a regard to happiness, or utility. We take these instances of the general unsoundness of all Warburton's peculiar doctrines, from topics on which he is generally supposed to have been less extravagant than on any other. Those who wish to know his feats in criticism, may be referred to the Canons of Mr Edwards; and those who admire the originality of his Dissertation on the Mysteries, are recommended to look into the *Eleusis* of *Meursius*.

Speculations like these could never be popular; and were not likely to attract the attention, even of the studious, longer than their novelty, and the glare of erudition and originality which was thrown around them, protected them from deliberate consideration. But the real cause of the public alienation from the works of this writer, is undoubtedly to be found in the revolting arrogance of his general manner, and the offensive coarseness of his controversial invectives. These, we think, must be confessed to be somewhat worse than mere error in reasoning, or extravagance in theory. They are not only offences of the first magnitude against good taste and good manners, but are likely to be attended with pernicious consequences in matters of much higher importance. Though there is no reason, we think, to doubt of the sincerity of this reverend person's abhorrence for vice and infidelity, we are seriously of opinion, that his writings have been substantially prejudicial to the cause of religion and morality; and that it is fortunate for both, that they have now fallen into general oblivion.

They have produced, in the first place, all the mischief of a conspicuous, and, in some sense, a successful example of genius and learning, associated with insolence, intolerance, and habitual contumely and outrage. All men who are engaged in controversy are apt enough to be abusive and insulting,—and clergymen, perhaps, rather more apt than others. It is an intellectual warfare,

fare, in which it is *natural*, we suspect, to be ferocious, unjust, and unsparing: but experience and civilization have tempered this vehemence, by gentler and more generous maxims,—and introduced a law of honourable hostility, by which the fiercer elements of our nature are mastered and controuled. No greater evil, perhaps, can be imagined, than the violation of this law from any quarter of influence and reputation;—yet the Warburtonians may be said to have done their endeavour to introduce the use of poisoned weapons, and to abolish the practice of giving quarter in the fields of controversy. Fortunately, their example has not been generally followed; and the sect itself, though graced with mitres, and other trophies of worldly success, has perished, we think, in consequence of the experiment.

A second, and perhaps a still more formidable mischief, arose from the discredit which was brought on the priesthood, and indeed upon religion in general, by this interchange of opprobrious and insulting accusations among its ministers. If the abuse was justifiable, then the church itself gave shelter to folly and wickedness, at least as great as was to be found under the banners of infidelity;—if it was not justifiable, then it was apparent, that the abuse of these holy men was no proof of demerit in those against whom it was directed; and the unbelievers, of course, were furnished with an objection to the sincerity of those invectives of which they themselves were the objects.

This applies to those indecent expressions of violence and contempt, in which Warburton and his followers were accustomed to indulge, when speaking of their christian and clerical opponents. But the greatest evil of all, we think, arose from the intemperance, coarseness and acrimony of their remarks, even on those who were enemies to revelation. There is, in all well constituted minds, a natural feeling of indulgence towards those errors of opinion, to which, from the infirmity of human reason, all men are liable, and of compassion for those whose errors have endangered their happiness. It must be the natural tendency of all candid and liberal persons, therefore, to regard unbelievers with pity, and to reason with them with mildness and forbearance. Infidel writers, we conceive, may generally be allowed to be actual unbelievers; for it is difficult to imagine what other motive than a sincere persuasion of the truth of their opinions, could induce them to become objects of horror to the respectable part of any community by their disclosure. From what vices of the heart, or from what defects in the understanding, their unbelief may have originated, it may not always be easy to determine; but it seems obvious that, for the unbelief itself, they are rather to be pitied than reviled; and that the most

effectual way of persuading the public that their opinions are refuted out of a regard to human happiness, is to treat their authors (whose happiness is most in danger) with some small degree of liberality and gentleness. It is also pretty generally taken for granted, that a very angry disputant is usually in the wrong; that it is not a sign of much confidence in the argument, to take advantage of the unpopularity or legal danger of the opposite doctrine; and that, when an unsuccessful and unfair attempt is made to discredit the general ability or personal worth of an antagonist, no great reliance is understood to be placed on the argument by which he may be lawfully opposed.

It is needless to apply these observations to the case of the Warburtonian controversies. There is no man, we believe, however he may be convinced of the fallacy and danger of the principles maintained by Lord Bolingbroke, by Voltaire, or by Hume, who has not felt indignation and disgust at the brutal violence, the affected contempt, and the flagrant unfairness with which they are treated by this learned author,—who has not, for a moment, taken part with them against so ferocious and insulting an opponent, and wished for the mortification and chastisement of the advocate, even while impressed with the greatest veneration for the cause. We contemplate this scene of orthodox fury, in short, with something of the same emotions with which we should see a heretic subjected to the torture, or a freethinker led out to the stake by a zealous inquisitor. If this, however, be the effect of such illiberal violence, even on those whose principles are settled, and whose faith is confirmed by habit and reflection, the consequences must obviously be infinitely more pernicious for those whose notions of religion are still unformed and immature, and whose minds are open to all plausible and liberal impressions. Take the case, for instance, of a young man, who has been delighted with the eloquence of Bolingbroke, and the sagacity and ingenuity of Hume;—who knows, moreover, that the one lived in intimacy with Pope and Swift, and almost all the worthy and eminent persons of his time;—and that the other was the cordial friend of Robertson and Blair, and was irreproachably correct and amiable in every relation of life;—and who, perceiving with alarm the tendency of some of their speculations, applies to Warburton for an antidote to the poison he may have imbibed. In Warburton he will then read that Bolingbroke was a paltry driveller—Voltaire a pitiable scoundrel—and Hume a puny dialectician, who ought to be set on the pillory, and whose heart was as base and corrupt as his understanding is contemptible! Now, what, we would ask any man of common candour and observation, is the effect which is likely to be produced

duced on the mind of any ingenuous and able young man by this style of confutation? Infallibly to make him take part with the reviled and insulted literati,—to throw aside the right reverend confuter with contempt and disgust,—and most probably to conceive a fatal prejudice against the cause of religion itself, thus unhappily associated with coarse and ignoble scurrility. He must know to a certainty, in the first place, that *the contempt* of the orthodox champion is either affected, or proceeds from most gross ignorance and incapacity;—since the abilities of the reviled writers is proved, not only by his own feeling and experience, but by the suffrage of the public and of all men of intelligence. He must think, in the second place, that the imputations on their *moral worth* are false and calumnious, both from the fact of their long friendship with the purest and most exalted characters of their age, and from the obvious irrelevancy of this topic in a fair refutation of their errors;—and then, applying the ordinary maxims by which we judge of a disputant's cause, from his temper and his fairness, he disables both the judgment and the candour of his instructor, and conceives a strong prejudice in favour of the cause which has been attacked in a manner so unwarrantable.

We have had occasion, oftener than once, to trace an effect like this, from this fierce and overbearing aspect of orthodoxy;—and we appeal to the judgment of all our readers, whether it be not the very effect which it is calculated to produce on all youthful minds of the least strength and originality. It is to such persons, however, and to such only, that the refutation of infidel writers ought to be addressed. There is no need to write books against Hume and Voltaire for the use of the learned and orthodox part of the English clergy. Such works are necessarily supposed to be intended for the benefit of young persons, who have either contracted some partiality for these seductive writers, or are otherwise in danger of being misled by them. It is to be presumed, therefore, that they know and admire their real excellences;—and it might consequently be inferred, that they will not listen with peculiar complacency to a refutation of their errors, which sets out with a torrent of illiberal and unjust abuse of their talents and characters.

We are convinced, therefore, that the bullying and abusive tone of the Warburtonian school, even in its contention with infidels, has done more harm to the cause of religion, and alienated more youthful and aspiring minds from the true faith, than any other error into which zeal has ever betrayed orthodoxy. It may afford a sort of vindictive delight to the zealots who stand in no need of the instruction of which it should be the vehicle; but it will, to a certainty, revolt and disgust all those to whom that

that instruction was necessary,—enlist all the generous feelings of their nature on the side of infidelity,—and make piety and reason itself appear like prejudice and bigotry. We think it fortunate, therefore, upon the whole, that the controversial writings of Warburton are already sunk in oblivion,—since, even if we thought more highly than we do of the substantial merit of his arguments, we should still be of opinion that they were likely to do more mischief than the greater part of the sophistries which it was their professed object to counteract and discredit.

These desultory observations have carried us so completely away from the book, by the title of which they were suggested, that we have forgotten to announce to our readers, that it contains a series of familiar letters, addressed by Warburton to Doctor (afterwards Bishop) Hurd, from the year 1749, when their acquaintance commenced, down to 1776, when the increasing infirmities of the former put a stop to the correspondence. Some little use was made of these letters in the life of his friend, which Bishop Hurd published, after a very long delay, in 1794; but the treasure was hoarded up, in the main, till the death of that prelate; soon after which, the present volume was prepared for publication, in obedience to the following intimation prefixed to the original collection, and now printed in the front of the book.

'These letters give so true a picture of the writer's character, and are, besides, so worthy of him in all respects (I mean, if the reader can forgive the playfulness of his wit in some instances, and the partiality of his friendship in many more), that, in honour of his memory, I would have them published after my death, and the profits arising from the sale of them, applied to the benefit of the Worcester Infirmary.'

The tenor of this note, as well as the name and the memory of Warburton, excited in us no small curiosity to peruse the collection; and, for a moment, we entertained the hope of finding this intractable and usurping author softened down, in the simple intercourse of private life, to something of a more amiable and engaging form: and when we found his right reverend correspondent speaking of the playfulness of his wit, and the partiality of his friendships, we almost persuaded ourselves, that we should find, in these letters, not only many traits of domestic tenderness and cordiality, but also some expressions of regret for the asperities with which, in the heat and the elation of controversy, he had insulted all who were opposed to him. It seemed natural, too, to expect, that along with the confessions of an author's vanity, we should meet with some reflections on his own good fortune, and some expressions of contentment and gratitude for the honours and dignities which had been heaped upon him.

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In all this, however, we have been painfully disappointed. The arrogance and irritability of Warburton was never more conspicuous than in these Letters,—nor his intolerance of opposition, and his preposterous estimate of his own merit and importance. There is some wit—good and bad—scattered through them; and diverse fragments of criticism: but the staple of the correspondence is his own praise, and that of his friend, whom he magnifies and exalts, indeed, in a way that is very diverting. To him, and his other dependants and admirers, and their patrons, he is kind and complimentary to excess; but all the rest of the world he regards with contempt and indifference. The age is a good age or a bad age, according as it applauds or neglects the Divine Legation and the Commentary on Horace. Those who write against these works are knaves and drivellers,—and will meet with their reward in the contempt of another generation, and the tortures of another world!—Bishoprics and Chancellorships, on the other hand, are too little for those who extol or defend them; and Government is reviled for leaving the press open to Bolingbroke, and tacitly blamed for not setting Mr Hume on the pillory.

The natural connexion of the subject with the general remarks which we have already premised, leads us to begin our extracts with a few specimens of that savage asperity towards Christians and Philosophers, upon which we have felt ourselves called on to pass so decided a sentence of reprobation. In a letter, dated in 1749, we have the following passage about Mr Hume.

'I am strongly tempted, too, to have a stroke at Hume in parting. He is the author of a little book, called Philosophical Essays; in one part of which he argues against the being of a God, and in another (very needlessly you will say) against the possibility of miracles. *He has crowned the liberty of the press.* And yet he has a considerable post under the Government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known amongst you? Pray answer me these questions; for if his own weight keeps him down, *I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory.*' p. 11.

In another place, he is pleased to say, under date of 1757, when Mr Hume's reputation for goodness, as well as genius, was fully established—

'There is an epidemic madness amongst us; to-day we burn with the feverish heat of Superstition; to-morrow we stand fixed and frozen in Atheism. Expect to hear that the churches are all crowded next Friday; and that on Saturday they buy up Hume's new Essays; the first of which (and please you) is *The Natural History of Religion*, for which I will trim the rogue's jacket, at least sit upon his skirts, as you will see when you come hither, and find his margins

gins scribbled over. In a word, the Essay is to establish an Atheistic naturalism, like Bolingbroke; and he goes upon one of Bol.'s capital arguments, that Idolatry and Polytheism were before the worship of the one God. It is full of absurdities; and here I come in with him; for *they show themselves knaves:* but, as you well observe, to do their business, is to show them *fools*. They say this man has several moral qualities. It may be so. But there are vices of the mind as well as body; *and a wickeder heart, and more determined to do public mischief, I think I never knew.*' p. 175.

It is natural and very edifying, after all this, to find him expressing the most unmeasured contempt even for the historical works of this author, and gravely telling his beloved friend, who was hammering out a dialogue on the English constitution, 'As 'to Hume's History, you need not fear being forestalled by a 'thousand *such* writers. But the fear is natural, as I have often 'felt, and as often experienced to be absurd.' We really were not aware, either that this *History* was generally looked upon as an irreligious publication, or that there was reason to suspect that Dr Robertson had no warm side to that cause more than his friend. Both these things, however, may be learned from the following short paragraph.

'Hume has outdone himself in this new history, in showing his contempt of religion. This is one of those proof charges which Arbuthnot speaks of in his treatise of *political lying*, to try how much the public will bear. *If his history be well received, I shall conclude that there is even an end of all pretence to religion.* But I should think it will not: because I fancy the good reception of Robertson's proceeded from the *decency* of it.' p. 207.

The following is the liberal commentary which this christian divine makes upon Mr Hume's treatment of Rousseau.

'It is a truth easily discoverable from his writings, that Hume could have but one motive in bringing him over (for he was under the protection of Lord Mareshal), and *that was, cherishing a man whose writings were as mischievous to society as his own.* The merits of the two philosophers are soon adjusted. There is an immense distance between their natural genius: none at all in *their excessive vanity;* and much again in their good faith. Rousseau's warmth has made him act the madman in his philosophic inquiries, so that he oft saw not the mischief which he did: *Hume's coldness made him not only see but rejoice in his.* But it is neither parts nor logic that has made either of them philosophers, but *infidelity* only. For which, to be sure, they both equally deserve a PENSION.' p. 286–7.

After all this, it can surprise us very little to hear him call Voltaire a *scoundrel* and a liar, and, in the bitterness of his heart, qualify Smollet by the name of 'a vagabond Scot, who wrote nonsense,' because people had bought 10,000 copies of his History, while the Divine Legation began to lye heavy on the shelves

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of his bookseller. It may be worth while, however, to see how this orthodox prelate speaks of the church and of churchmen. The following short passage will give the reader some light upon the subject; and also serve to exemplify the bombastic adulation which the reverend correspondents interchanged with each other, and the coarse but robust wit by which Warburton was distinguished.

'You were made for higher things: and my greatest pleasure is, that you give me a hint you are impatient to pursue them. What will not such a capacity and such a pen do, either to shame or to improve a miserable age! The Church, like the Ark of Noah, is worth saving; not for the sake of *the unclean beasts and vermin that almost filled it*, and probably made most noise and clamour in it, but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much distressed by the stink within, as by the tempest without.' p. 83, 84.

In another place, he says, 'I am serious upon it. I am afraid that both you and I shall outlive common sense, as well as learning, in our reverend brotherhood;' and afterwards complains, that he has laboured all his life to support the cause of the clergy, and been repaid with nothing but ingratitude. In the close of another letter on the same subject, he says, with a presumption, which the event has already made half ridiculous, and half melancholy, 'Are not you and I finely employed?—but, *Serimus arbores alteri quæ seculo prosunt.*'

But these are only general expressions, arising, perhaps, from spleen or casual irritation. Let us inquire how he speaks of individuals. It would be enough, perhaps, to say, that except a Dr Balguy, we do not remember of his saying any thing respectful of a single clergyman throughout the whole volume. The following is a pretty good specimen of the treatment which was reserved for such of his brethren as dared to express their dissent from his paradoxes and fancies.

'What could make that important blockhead (you know whom) preach against me at St James's? He never met me at Court, or at Powis or Newcastle-House. And what was it to him, whether the Jews had a future life? *It might be well for such as him, if the Christians had none neither.* Nor, *I dare say, does he much trouble himself about the matter*, while he stands foremost, amongst you, in the new *Land of promise;* which, however, to the mortification of these modern Jews, is a little distant from that of *performance.*' p. 65.

Now, this is not said in jest; but in fierce anger and resentment; and really affords as wonderful a picture of the temper and liberality of a Christian divine, as some of the disputes among the grammarians do of the irritability of a mere man of letters. The contempt, indeed, with which he speaks of his answerers,

swerers, who were in general learned divines, is equally keen and cutting with that which he evinces towards Hume and Bolingbroke. He himself knew ten thousand faults in his work; but *they* have never found *one* of them. Nobody has ever answered him yet, but at their own expense; and some poor man whom he mentions 'must share in the silent contempt with which I treat my answerers.' This is his ordinary style in those *playful* and affectionate letters. Of known and celebrated individuals, he talks in the same tone of disgusting arrogance and animosity. Dr Lowth, the learned and venerable Bishop of London, had occasion to complain of some misrepresentations in Warburton's writings, relating to the memory of his father; and, after some amicable correspondence, stated the matter to the public in a short and temperate pamphlet. Here is the manner in which he is treated for it in this Episcopal correspondence.

'All you say about Louth's pamphlet breathes the purest spirit of friendship. His *wit* and his *reasoning*, *God knows, and I also* (as a certain critic said once in a matter of the like great importance), are much below the qualities that deserve those names. But the strangest thing of all, is this man's *boldness* in publishing my letters without my leave or knowledge. I remember, several long letters passed between us. And I remember you saw the letters. But I have so totally forgot the contents, that I am at a loss for the meaning of these words.

'In a word, you are right.—If he expected an answer, he will certainly find himself disappointed: though I believe I could make as good sport with this *Devil of a vice for the public diversion*, as ever was made with him, in the old *Moralities*.' p. 273, 274.

Among the many able men who thought themselves called upon to expose his errors and fantasies, two of the most distinguished were Jortin and Leland. Dr Jortin had objected to Warburton's theory of the Sixth Æneid; and Dr Leland to his notion of the Eloquence of the Evangelists; and both with great respect and moderation. Warburton would not, or could not answer;—but his faithful esquire was at hand; and two anonymous pamphlets, from the pen of Dr Richard Hurd, were sent forth, to extol Warburton, and his paradoxes, beyond the level of a mortal; to accuse Jortin of envy, and to convict Leland of ignorance and error. Leland answered for himself; and, in the opinion of all the world, completely demolished his antagonist. Jortin contented himself with laughing at the elaborate irony of the Bishop's anonymous champion, and with wondering at his talent for perversion. Hurd never owned either of these malignant pamphlets;—and in the life of his friend, no notice whatever was taken of this inglorious controversy. What would have been better forgotten, however, for their joint reputation, is injudiciously

judiciously brought back to notice in the volume now before us; —and Warburton is proved by his letters to have entered fully into all the paltry keenness of his correspondent, and to have indulged a feeling of the most rancorous hostility towards both these excellent and accomplished men. In one of his letters he says, 'I will not tell you how much I am obliged to you for this 'correction of Leland. I have desired Col. Harvey to get it re-'printed in Dublin, which I think but a proper return for Le-'land's favour in London.' We hear nothing more, however, on this subject, after the publication of Dr Leland's reply.

With regard to Jortin, again, he says, 'Next to the pleasure 'of seeing myself so finely praised, is the satisfaction I take in 'seeing Jortin mortified. I know to what degree it will do it; 'and he deserves to be mortified. One thing I in good earnest 'resented for its baseness,' &c. In another place, he talks of his 'mean, low, and ungrateful conduct;' and adds, 'Jortin 'is as vain as he is dirty, to imagine that I am obliged to him,' &c. And, after a good deal more about his 'mean, low envy,' 'the rancour of his heart,' his 'self-importance,' and other good qualities, he speaks in this way of his death—

'I see by the papers that Jortin is dead. His overrating his abi-'lities, and the public's underrating them, made *so gloomy a temper eat*, as the antients expressed it, *his own heart*. If his death distresses his own family, I shall be heartily sorry for *this accident of mortality*. If not, *there is no loss—even to himself*.' p. 340.

That the reader may judge how far controversial rancour has here distorted the features of an adversary, we add part of an admirable character of Dr Jortin, drawn by one who had good occasion to know him, as it appeared in a work in which keenness, candour and erudition are very singularly blended. 'He had a 'heart which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. 'With a lively imagination and an elegant taste, he united the 'artless and amiable negligence of a schoolboy. Wit without ill 'nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter on 'every subject; and, in every book, the writer presents us with 'a near and distinct view of the man. He had too much dis-'cernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or 'dulness; and too much candour to insult, where he could not 'persuade. He carried with him into every subject which he ex-'plored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, 'though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an 'equal with or without the sacred name of a friend.' *

Dr Middleton too, had happened to differ from some of Warburton's

* See Preface to *Two Tracts* by a Warburtonian. p. 194.

burton's opinions on the origin of Popish ceremonies; and accordingly he is very charitably represented as having *renounced his religion* in a pet on account of the discourtesy of his brethren in the church. It is on an occasion no less serious and touching, than the immediate prospect of this learned man's death, who had once been his friend, that he gives vent to this liberal imputation.

'Had he had, *I will not say piety*, but greatness of mind enough not to suffer the pretended injuries of some churchmen to *prejudice him against religion*, I should love him living, and honour his memory when dead. But, good God! that man, for the discourtesies done him by his miserable fellow creatures, should be *content to divest himself of the true viaticum*, the comfort, the solace, the asylum, &c. &c. is perfectly astonishing. I believe no one (all things considered) has suffered more from the low and vile passions of the high and low amongst our brethren than myself. Yet, God forbid,' &c. 40, 41.

When divines of the church of England are spoken of in this manner, it may be supposed that dissenters and laymen do not meet with any better treatment. Priestley, accordingly, is called 'a wretched fellow;' and Dr Samuel Johnson, who, in spite of considerable temptations to the contrary, had spoken with great respect of him, both in his preface to Shakespeare and in his notes, is thus rewarded by the meek and modest ecclesiastic for his forbearance.

'The remarks he makes in every page on my commentaries, are *full of insolence* and *malignant reflections*, which, had they not in them as much *folly* as *malignity*, I should have had reason to be offended with. As it is, I think myself obliged to him in thus setting before the public so many of my notes with *his* remarks upon them; for, though I have no great opinion of that trifling part of the public, which pretends to judge of this part of literature, in which boys and girls decide, yet *I think nobody can be mistaken in this comparison*; though I think their thoughts have never yet extended thus far as to reflect, that to discover the corruption in an author's text, and by a happy sagacity to restore it to sense, is no easy task: but when the discovery is made, then to cavil at the conjecture, to propose an equivalent, and defend nonsense, by producing, out of the thick darkness it occasions, a weak and faint glimmering of sense (which has been the business of *this Editor* throughout) is the *easiest*, as well as *dullest* of all literary efforts.' p. 272, 273.

It is irksome transcribing more of these insolent and vindictive personalities; and we believe we have already extracted enough, to satisfy our readers as to the probable effect of this publication, in giving the world a just impression of the amiable, playful, and affectionate character of this learned prelate. It is scarcely necessary, for this purpose, to refer to any of his pathetic lamentations

over

over his own age, as a '*barbarous* age,' an '*impious* age,' and 'a *dark* age,'—to quote his murmurs at the ingratitude with which his own labours had been rewarded,—or, indeed, to do more than transcribe his sage and magnanimous resolution, in the year 1768, 'to begin to live *for himself*,—having already lived for others longer than they had deserved of him.' This worthy and philanthropic person had by this time preached and written himself into a bishopric and a fine estate, and, at the same time, indulged himself in every sort of violence and scurrility against those from whose opinions he dissented. In these circumstances, we really are not aware either how he could have lived more for himself, or less for others, than he had been all along doing. But we leave now the painful task of commenting upon this book, as a memorial of his character; and gladly turn to those parts of it, from which our readers may derive more unmingled amusement.

The wit which it contains is generally strong and coarse, with a certain mixture of profanity which does not always seem to consort well with the episcopal character. There are some allusions to the Lady of Babylon, which we dare not quote in our Presbyterian pages. The reader, however, may take the following.

'Poor Job! It was his eternal fate to be persecuted by his friends. His three comforters passed sentence of condemnation upon him; and he has been executing *in effigie* ever since. He was first bound to the stake by a long catena of Greek Fathers; then tortured by Pineda; then strangled by Caryl; and afterwards cut up by Westley, and anatomized by Garnet. Pray don't reckon me amongst his hangmen. I only acted the tender part of his wife, and was for making short work with him. But he was ordained, I think, by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lye still upon his dunghill, and have his brains sucked out by owls. One Hodges, a head of Oxford, now threatens us with a new *Auto de fé*.' p. 22.

We have already quoted one assimilation of the Church to the Ark of Noah. This idea is pursued in the following passage, which is perfectly characteristic of the force, the vulgarity, and the mannerism of Warburton's writing.

You mention Noah's Ark. I have really forgot what I said of it. But I suppose I compared the Church to it, as many a grave divine has done before me.—The rabbins make the giant Gog or Magog contemporary with Noah, and convinced by his preaching; so that he was disposed to take the benefit of the ark. But here lay the distress: it by no means suited his dimensions. Therefore, as he could not enter in, he contented himself to ride upon it astride. And though you must suppose that, in that stormy weather, he was more than half-boots over, he kept his seat and dismounted safely, when the ark landed on mount Ararat. Image now to yourself this illustrious Cavalier mounted on his *hackney*: and see if it does not

bring before you the Church, bestrid by some lumpish minister of state, who turns and winds it at his pleasure. The only difference is, that Gog believed the preacher of righteousness and religion.' p. 87, 88.

The following is in a broader and more ambitious style,—yet still peculiar and forcible. After recommending a tour round St James's Park as far more instructive than the grand tour, he proceeds—

'This is enough for any one who only wants to study men for his use. But if our aspiring friend would go higher, and study human nature, in and for itself, he must take a much larger tour than that of Europe. He must first go and catch her undressed, nay, quite naked, in North America, and at the Cape of Good Hope. He may then examine how she appears crampt, contracted, and buttoned close up in the strait tunic of law and custom, as in China and Japan; or spread out, and enlarged above her common size, in the long and flowing robe of enthusiasm, amongst the Arabs and Saracens; or, lastly, as she flutters in the old rags of worn-out policy and civil government, and almost ready to run back, naked, to the deserts, as on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. These, tell him, are the grand scenes for the true philosopher, for the citizen of the world, to contemplate. The *tour of Europe* is like the entertainment that Plutarch speaks of, which Pompey's host of Epirus gave him. There were many dishes, and they had a seeming variety; but when he came to examine them narrowly, he found them all made out of one hog, and indeed nothing but *pork* differently disguised.

'Indeed I perfectly agree with you, that a scholar by profession, who knows how to employ his time in his study, for the benefit of mankind, would be more than fantastical, he would be mad, to go rambling round Europe, though his fortune would permit him. For to travel with profit, must be when his faculties are at the height, his studies matured, and all his reading fresh in his head. But to waste a considerable space of time, at such a period of life, is worse than suicide. Yet, for all this, the knowledge of human nature (the only knowledge, in the largest sense of it, worth a wise man's concern or care), can never be well acquired without seeing it under all its disguises and distortions, arising from absurd governments and monstrous religions, in every quarter of the globe. Therefore, I think a collection of the best voyagers no despicable part of a philosopher's library. Perhaps there will be found more dross in this sort of literature, even when selected most carefully, than in any other. But no matter for that; such a collection will contain a great and solid treasure.' p. 111, 112.

These, we think, are favourable specimens of wit, and of power of writing. The bad jokes, however, rather preponderate. There is one brought in, with much formality, about his suspicions of the dunces having stolen the *lead* off the roof of his coachhouse; and

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two or three abſurd little anecdotes, which ſeem to have no pretenſions to pleaſantry—but that they are narratives, and have no ſerious meaning. The following might be adapted to the taſte of the city; but, to us, at this diſtance, it appears wonderfully ſilly.

'I preached my Propagation ſermon; and ten or a dozen Biſhops dined with my Lord Mayor, a plain and (for this year at leaſt) a munificent man. Whether I made them wiſer than ordinary at Bow I can't tell: I certainly *made them merrier than ordinary at the Manſion-Houſe*, where we were magnificently treated. The Lord Mayor told me, the Common Council were much obliged to me, for that this was the firſt time he ever heard them prayed for. I ſaid, I conſidered them as a body *who much needed the prayers of the Church*. But if he told me in what I abounded, I told him in what I thought he was defective,—that I was greatly diſappointed to ſee *no cuſtard* at table. He ſaid, that they had been ſo ridiculed for their cuſtard, that none had ventured to make its appearance for many years. I told him, I ſuppoſed *that religion and cuſtard went out of faſhion together*.' p. 276, 277.

The next is from the court; but it appears to us as poor as its city neighbour.

'I brought, as uſual, a bad cold with me to town; and this being the firſt day I ventured out of doors, it was employed, as in duty bound, at court, it being a levee day. A buffoon Lord in waiting (you may gueſs whom I mean) was very buſy marſhalling the circle; and he ſaid to me, without ceremony, "Move forward, you clog up the door-way." I replied, with as little, *Did nobody clog up the King's door-ſtead more than I, there would be room for all honeſt men*. This brought the man to himſelf.—When the King came up to me, he aſked why I did not come to town before? I ſaid, I underſtood there was no buſineſs going forward in the Houſe, in which I could be of ſervice to his Majeſty. He replied, he ſuppoſed the ſevere ſtorm of ſnow would have brought me up. I replied, I was under cover of a very warm houſe.—You ſee, by all this, how unfit I am for courts.' p. 291.

To paſs from wit, however, to more ſerious matters, we find, in this volume, ſome very ſtriking proofs of the extent and diligence of this author's miſcellaneous reading, particularly in the liſts and characters of the authors to whom he refers his friend as authorities for a hiſtory of the Engliſh conſtitution. In this part of his dialogues, indeed, it appears that Hurd has derived the whole of his learning, and moſt of his opinions, from Warburton. The following remarks on the continuation of Clarendon's Hiſtory are good and liberal.

'Beſides that buſineſs and age and misfortunes had perhaps ſunk his ſpirit, the *Continuation* is not ſo properly the hiſtory of the firſt ſix years of Charles the Second, as an anxious apology for the ſhare himſelf had in the adminiſtration. This has hurt the compoſition

in several respects. Amongst others, he could not, with decency, allow his pen that scope in his delineation of the chief characters of the court, who were all his personal enemies, as he had done in that of the enemies to the King and monarchy in the grand rebellion. The endeavour to keep up a show of candour, and especially to prevent the appearance of a rancorous resentment, has deadened his colouring very much, besides that it made him sparing in the use of it; else, his inimitable pencil had attempted, at least, to do justice to Bennet, to Berkley, to Coventry, to the nightly cabal of facetious memory, to the Lady, and, if his excessive loyalty had not intervened, to his infamous master himself. With all this, I am apt to think there may still be something in what I said of the nature of the subject. Exquisite virtue and enormous vice afford a fine field for the historian's genius. And hence Livy and Tacitus are, in their way, perhaps equally entertaining. But the little intrigues of a selfish court, *about carrying, or defeating this or that measure, about displacing this and bringing in that minister*, which interest nobody very much but the parties concerned, can hardly be made very striking by any ability of the relator. If Cardinal de Retz has succeeded, his scene was busier, and of another nature from that of Lord Clarendon.' p. 217.

His account of Tillotson seems also to be fair and judicious.

'As to the Archbishop, he was certainly a virtuous, pious, humane, and moderate man; which last quality was a kind of rarity in those times. His notions of civil society were but confused and imperfect, as appears in the affair of Lord Russel. As to religion, he was amongst the class of latitudinarian divines.'—'As a preacher, I suppose his established fame is chiefly owing to his being the first city divine who talked rationally, and wrote purely. I think the sermons published in his lifetime are fine moral discourses. They bear, indeed, the character of their author,—simple, elegant, candid, clear and rational. No orator, in the Greek and Roman sense of the word, like Taylor; nor a discourser, in their sense, like Barrow; —free from their irregularities, but not able to reach their heights; on which account, I prefer them infinitely to him. You cannot sleep with Taylor; you cannot forbear thinking with Barrow; but you may be much at your ease in the midst of a long lecture from Tillotson, clear, and rational, and equable as he is. Perhaps the last quality may account for it.' p. 93, 94.

The following observations on the conduct of the comic drama were thrown out for Mr Hurd's use, while composing his treatise. We think they deserve to be quoted, for their clearness and fulness.

'As those intricate Spanish plots have been in use, and have taken both with us and some French writers for the stage, and have much hindered the main end of Comedy, would it not be worth while to give them a word, as it would tend to the further illustration of your subject?

subject? On which you might observe, that when these unnatural plots are used, the mind is not only entirely drawn off from the characters by those surprising turns and revolutions, but characters have no opportunity even of being *called out* and displaying themselves; for the actors of all characters *succeed* and are *embarrassed* alike, when the instruments for carrying on designs are only *perplexed apartments, dark entries, disguised habits, and ladders of ropes.* The comic plot is, and must indeed be, carried on by *deceit.* The Spanish scene does it by deceiving the man *through his senses*;—Terence and Moliere, by deceiving him *through his passions and affections.* This is the right; for the character is *not* called out under the first species of deceit,—under the second, the character does *all.*' p. 57.

There are a few of Bishop Hurd's own letters in this collection; and as we suppose they were selected with a view to do honour to his memory, we think it our duty to lay one of them at least before our readers. Warburton had slipped in his garden, and hurt his arm; whereupon thus inditeth the obsequious Dr Hurd.

'I thank God that I can now, with some assurance, congratulate with myself on the prospect of your Lordship's safe and speedy recovery from your *sad disaster.*

'Mrs Warburton's last letter was a cordial to me; and, as the ceasing of intense pain, so this abatement of the fears I have been tormented with for three or four days past, gives a certain alacrity to my spirits, of which your Lordship may *look* to feel the effects, in a long letter.

'And now, supposing, as I trust I may do, that your Lordship will be in no great pain when you receive this letter, I am tempted to begin, as friends usually do when such accidents *befal*, with my reprehensions, rather than condolence. I have often wondered why your Lordship should not use *a cane* in your walks, which might *haply* have prevented this misfortune; especially considering that Heaven, I suppose the better to keep its sons in some sort of equality, has thought fit to make your outward sight by many degrees less perfect than your inward. Even I, a young and stout son of the church, rarely trust my firm steps into my garden, without some support of this kind. How improvident, then, was it in a father of the church to commit his unsteadfast footing to this hazard?' &c. p. 251.

There are many pages written with the same vigour of sentiment and expression, and in the same tone of manly independence.

We have little more to say of this curious volume. Like all Warburton's writings, it bears marks of a powerful understanding and an active fancy. As a memorial of his personal character, it must be allowed to be at least faithful and impartial; for it makes us acquainted with his faults at least, as distinctly as with his ex-

cellences; and gives, indeed, the moſt conſpicuous place to the former. It has few of the charms, however, of a collection of letters;—no anecdotes—no traits of ſimplicity or artleſs affection;—nothing of the ſoftneſs, grace, or negligence of Cowper's correſpondence—and little of the lightneſs or the elegant prattlement of Pope's or Lady Mary Wortley's. The writers always appear buſy, and even laborious perſons,—and perſons who hate many people, and deſpiſe many more. They neither appear very happy, nor very amiable; and, at the end of the book, have excited no other intereſt in the reader, than as the authors of their reſpective publications.

ART. VI. *A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language.* By Charles Wilkins, LL. D. F. R. S. 8vo. pp. 650. London, 1808.

FROM the first establishment of European settlements in India, the attention of missionaries, and of all individuals in any degree tinged with literature, had been directed towards a language whose wonderful structure recommended it to investigation, as much as the interesting monuments of high antiquity, which it was said to contain. This curiosity has been transmitted to England, and imported in much larger quantities to the Continent of Europe. It has been usually shipped, however, as an article of private trade; and by no means formed a part of the East India Company's regular investment. Their patronage has only been recently extended to literary researches. The eminent persons who now direct that establishment, have not imitated the apathy of their predecessors.

The profuse encouragement given by the present ruler of France to all works calculated to diffuse a knowledge of the oriental languages in his dominions, induced a celebrated French orientalist to examine, in 1805, the manuscript grammars transmitted by the Indian missionaries to the Royal library. But the materials were not found sufficiently ample to recommend the publication to the patronage of Government. In a different line, however, the object has probably been already fulfilled with striking success, and France put in possession of a copious and accurate *Chinese* dictionary, by M. de Guignes, son of the distinguished orientalist, whose youth spent in China was devoted to the acquisition of its language.

By the appearance of no fewer than *three* Sanskrit grammars during the present year, England, at least, has been amply supplied with

with information in that particular. Of the first, by Mr Colebrooke, we have not been able to procure a copy. We understand, indeed, that the first part only has reached this country, and that it is a translation of an excellent original grammar, intituled Saraswata. The second, by Mr Carey, has been for sale during some months. It is principally founded on the grammars most commonly used in Bengal, intituled Mugdabadha. The performance possesses considerable merit, and certainly bespeaks great labour. We think Mr Carey unfortunate, however, in selecting the work of Vopadeva as his principal guide, and that much of the intricacy, perplexity and confusion observable in his own, is imputable to this cause. Translations of original grammars, though invaluable to the metaphysician and philologer, are but ill calculated to accelerate the progress of students, previously acquainted with the principles of general grammar, in a different dress.

The publication before us is the production of Mr Wilkins, the first European who successfully studied the Sanscrit language, and the first who introduced its literature to the acquaintance of the Western world. His complete knowledge of its structure, by furnishing him with comprehensive views of all its proportions, has enabled him to discard the technical terms and arbitrary arrangements of the Indian grammarians, unless where these really facilitate the study to an intelligent European. The general rules are delivered in a clear and succinct manner: yet the exceptions, and the examples necessary to illustrate them, together with the rules to which the Indian grammarians have attempted (sometimes unsuccessfully) to subject these anomalies, have swelled this grammar to 656 pages. Still its size is considerably less alarming than that of Mr Carey; and both, indeed, in some measure, supply the want of a lexicon, by copious lists of Sanscrit roots. In short, Mr Wilkins's performance seems to us to unite the appropriate excellencies of a grammar—accuracy, conciseness and perspicuity. We must not, indeed, expect to find the path of the Sanscrit student strewed with roses, scattered by the oriental muses, as in the compositions of Sir William Jones and Mr Halhed The few and simple rules of the modern dialects of Persia and Bengal, and the small number of exceptions which occur to those general rules, admitted of extrinsic decorations, without rendering their works inconveniently large. But the necessary magnitude of the task which Mr Wilkins had prescribed to himself, evidently obliged him to relinquish the ornaments he might derive from poetry. The road, therefore, to Sanscrit literature, is rugged as the ascent to the temple of virtue; and of the flowers which might have charmed the dreariness of the way, nothing is left us but the roots.

To the servants of the East India Company, the Sanscrit comes recommended as the parent of every vernacular dialect spoken by the civilized nations of Hindustan, from the snowy mountains of Thibet and Bhutan, to the extremity of the Southern peninsula. To these we may add the dialects of Srinagar, Nepal and Asam. We have no hesitation in asserting, that in all of these which we have had an opportunity of investigating, three fourths of the words are pure Sanscrit; and that, of the rest, most are changed or corrupted by a regular system of permutation, by substituting particular consonants in the room of others. Thus, in the Bengal dialect, the Sanscrit *v*, uniformly passes into *b*; and *d* and *m* very frequently into *l*. Hence *vodo*, speak, becomes *bobo*; a change which would scarcely be credited, were it not proved by the multitude of examples.

In our remarks on the able and luminous paper of Mr Colebrooke, on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages, in the Seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, we have exhibited his list of the vernacular districts of India. From the recent extension of the English possessions in that country, there is not one of those dialects that is not spoken and exclusively understood by the great bulk of the natives, in some quarter of our dominions. It is true, the Mohamedan conquerors have introduced Persic as the language of diplomacy: the judicial records and revenue accounts were committed to the archives in that language; and, in that particular, the East India Company, who succeeded to their authority, have followed their example,—without any assignable motive. It is probable, however, that the extinction of the great Mohamedan empires of India, will soon lead to the disuse of a practice attended with so many disadvantages. At present, the native chiefs are in the habit of receiving and transmitting to the English governors, letters, which neither those who send, nor those who receive them, can read; the Persic language being equally foreign to both. In judicial proceedings, again, the pleadings and examination of witnesses are actually conducted in the vernacular language, the parties in general knowing no other; but they are committed to the record in a Persic translation, although the ability and fidelity of the persons employed to translate them are frequently more than suspicious. In the accounts of revenue, the admirable simplicity of the Hindi annotation is changed for the complex and imperfect system of the Persians, although the motive which dictated this operation ceased to exist with the Mohamedan domination. We shall cease to wonder at this absurdity, if we recollect the period which elapsed from the Norman conquest, before the French language was banished from our own courts of justice, and the difficulties which attend great innova-

tions,

tions, however important or necessary. It may be correctly affirmed, that in whatever language the English officers of the Company deliver their orders, these are invariably communicated to the inferior agents in the vernacular dialect of the provinces. In the administration of justice, the collection of the revenue, and in the provision of the investment, these dialects alone are used,—no other being known to the parties concerned in these transactions. In the upper provinces of India, the pure Indian dialect, indeed, has nearly disappeared; or, rather, a copious intermixture of Persic and Arabic substantives has converted it into the language called Hindustani, which is very universally spoken in large cities, and is more or less understood by the Mohamedans, estimated at a twelfth of the population, throughout Hindustan. This language, therefore, well merits the appellation of a vernacular dialect, and is, in fact, the most extensively useful of any. Almost the whole of its verbs, and a great proportion of its nouns, are derived from the Sanscrit; but, from the obvious circumstances of its formation, it is of course less strictly allied to it than the other. It may be correctly affirmed of each of the latter, that it cannot be perfectly understood without a knowledge of this source; and that he who possesses this, is master of three fourths of the dictionaries of each.

Admitting the analogy between the Sanscrit and the vernacular dialects to the extent we have stated, some very intelligent orientalists are still doubtful, whether the latter should be considered as derivatives. 'After proving,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'that nine tenths of the Hindi dialects may be traced back to the Sanscrit idiom, there yet remains the difficulty of accounting for the remaining tenth, which is perhaps the basis of the Hindi language. Sir William Jones thought it so; and he thence inferred, that the pure Hindi was primeval in Upper India, into which the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms, in some very remote age.' In the same dissertation, Mr Colebrooke has given incontrovertible proofs, that where similar words are found in both languages, (that is, in nine tenths of the whole), the Hindi has borrowed from the Sanscrit. It follows, that it must be considered a derivative language; and the same argument is equally applicable to all the other dialects. If it could be proved that many Italian words have been transmitted from the Celtic tribes who peopled that peninsula before the arrival of colonies from Greece, we should not, nevertheless, hesitate in pronouncing the Italian to be a derivative from Latin.

That the Brahmans entered India as conquerors, bringing with them their language, religion, and civil institutions, is no improbable hypothesis. The Purana seem even to point out the conqueror

queror in the person of Parasurāma, who, at the head of an army of Brahmans, extirpated the military tribes, and overthrew all the existing monarchies. But the period of this event is before the era of historical record. That the words existing in the Hindi language, which can neither be traced to Sanscrit, Persic, or Arabic, must necessarily be the remains of the aboriginal tongue, appears to us a very gratuitous supposition. Long after the introduction of Sanscrit, the Purānas record various successful invasions of Hindustan, by neighbouring nations, whose sovereigns are even stated to have founded dynasties in that country. Of these, the Yavana are the Persians, whose historians concur with the Puranas in this particular. They consider Ardeshir Derandest (the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks) as the conqueror of a part of India, which continued (say they) tributary to his successors, until the conquest of Alexander. The Saca (the warlike Sacæ of Herodotus) are also represented as having carried their arms from the Jaxartes to the Ganges, and to have given sovereigns to a part of India. The first of these nations spoke Pehlevi, a language only known to Europeans by the short specimen published by M. Anquetil du Perron: with that of the Sacæ we are still utterly unacquainted. It appears to us much more probable, that these languages have furnished the anomalous part of the Hindi, than that it was the original language of the country, and has survived the shock of conquests, and changes of religion, to the present day. A supposition more probable than either is, that these words formed part of the dialect of the first Mohamedan conquerors. At the courts of Bokhara, the capital of the Samanides, indeed, the Persian language was spoken in great purity; but the armies of those princes, and of the sovereigns of Ghadna, were principally composed of Turkimans, who carried their arms to the eastern extremity of India, and settled there in great numbers during the reigns of the emperors of Dehli. The Persic and Arabic words which they have introduced into the vernacular dialects are easily detected; but our ignorance of the Tartar idioms may prevent our recognizing the source of the other. But it is time to return from this digression, to consider what other claims the Sanscrit language may possess on the attention of the public, independent of its necessity for the perfect knowledge of such of the vernacular dialects, and its utility in facilitating the acquisition of them all.

We shall merely allude to the interest it is calculated to excite in a literary point of view. The dissertations of Sir William Jones on the literature and philosophy of the Hindus, have illustrated this topic with an ability which leaves us nothing to add.

But its utility is not confined to the study of the antiquities, philosophy and religion of Hindustan. The Pali language, in which

which the priests of Buddha preserved the records of their doctrines, their history and poetry, is so nearly allied to the Sanscrit, that all of it which has hitherto been communicated from Siam, Ava, Tibet and Ceylon, is perfectly intelligible to the Sanscrit scholar. This religion pervades the whole continent from India eastward: it is established in Japan and Ceylon; and extends further north than has hitherto been ascertained amongst the Tartar tribes. The Sanscrit language, then, appears to open to the contemplation of the historian, the philosopher, the antiquarian or the poet, whatever is interesting in the literature of all the nations to the east of the Indus.

We will now proceed to consider the analogy of the Sanscrit with other languages. The proposition which the writer of this article would have wished to illustrate, is thus stated by that great philologer, whose critical knowledge of most of the languages mentioned, entitled his opinion to a degree of authority, which the present disquisition is far from claiming. 'That the first race of Persians and Indians,' says Sir William Jones, 'to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths* and the old *Egyptians* or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestable proof: that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Assyrians* or second *Persian* race, the people who spoke Syriac, and a numerous tribe of *Abyssinians*, used one primitive dialect, wholly distinct from the idiom just mentioned, is, I believe, undisputed, and, I am sure, indisputable.' To demonstrate this proposition in its whole extent, would have required all the erudition of that celebrated writer; and he who now ventures partially to supply the demonstration, is acquainted, and that very imperfectly, with only a few of the languages which the proposition embraces. To the science of philology he has never devoted a moment; of Greek, his knowledge is slender; and of Hebrew and Ethiopic he is equally and totally ignorant. His sole qualifications for the task he has undertaken, are a tolerable knowledge of Sanscrit, Arabic, Latin, German, and the modern language of Persia. It would have been easy, by the help of lexicons, to have palliated, and perhaps to have concealed this deficiency; but, unambitious of the reputation of a linguist, though desirous of demonstrating a proposition no less true than wonderful, he prefers candidly stating the extent of his qualifications. Yet if Varro and the antient etymologists be correct in considering the Latin as a derivative of the Greek; or if (as there seems more reason to imagine) the Pelasgi planted colonies both in the Peloponnesus and on the coast of Italy, many of our analogies will be found to include the Greek terms also. On the latter supposition, indeed, the Italian peninsula will probably

be

be thought more favourable to the pure transmission of the original language, being more remote from a mixture of surrounding nations and varying idioms. The analogy we propose to demonstrate is, in the first place, that of the *words* composing the languages treated of; and, secondly, that of their *structure.*

In the execution of the first part, we shall merely open the Persic dictionary Farhang Jehanghiri; and, when we meet with a word that has the same signification in Sanscrit, Latin or German, write them in a line. Others will certainly occur in the course of the operation. The number of words to be exhibited will amply demonstrate the analogy; but it is not their number, merely, to which we would direct the attention of our readers. That is unavoidably limited by the nature of our Review; and, with a very inconsiderable portion of time and labour, might easily be extended to ten times its present amount. It is the sort, and not the number of similar words that attest the affiliation or consanguinity of nations and languages. In the diffusion of arts and sciences—in the progress of conquests—in the intercourse of commerce, words are imported into every country, which prove no original affinity between the nation which adopts, and that which invented them. Thus, the Greeks have bequeathed to the rest of Europe their sciences and the names of them. Our word 'geography' only proves that science to have been cultivated previously in Greece; 'algebra,' that the Arabs invented the science, and the word to express it; 'alcove,' that this formed a part of Mooriſh architecture; 'guitare, cithara, or xitarra,' that the instrument was of Persian invention, and originally consisted of *three* strings. To the American Indians, we are indebted for the most useless and the most useful of plants, together with their names, 'tobacco and potatoes.' In the history of arts, sciences, or commerce, attention to these names may have its utility: in the history of nations they authorize no deduction whatever.

On the other hand, there are things which must have been named in the very infancy of society, and before the first dawn of civilization. Where these names correspond, therefore, in different countries, we may confidently infer, that the one has been peopled from the same stock with the other. Thus, the names of the parts of the human body, of the relations of consanguinity, and of the animals most familiar to man, constitute a class of words, without which we cannot suppose mankind to exist even in the rudest state of society. To adopt the hypothesis of the learned Bayer, we must suppose the inhabitants of Hindustan to have waited till Alexander the Great conquered Bactria, in order to obtain appellations for the most endearing ties of nature, and to enable them to express the venerable relations

tions of father and mother. The words we propose to exhibit, consist solely of the class we have described; and it would be superfluous to insert the Arabic words, since one general remark applies to the whole,—that the signification of each word cited, is expressed, in Arabic, by sounds totally *dissimilar*. Two prefatory remarks will be enough to render our proofs intelligible.

1*st*, In a numerous class of Sanscrit and Latin substantives, the nominative case is formed by ellipsis, to the exclusion of a radical letter. Thus, 'rex' seems to be a contraction of 'regus,' since the *g* is preserved in the other cases, and in its verb 'regere.' In the ablative 'rege,' (the Sanscrit *raja*), all the radicals appear. Juno, in like manner, omits a radical letter. The Latin ablative, which forms the Italian nominative, presents the whole. 'Janoni,' *a mother*, in Sanscrit, is the manifest origin of the Latin appellation for the mother of the gods; but the analogy, preserved in the ablative 'Junone,' is lost in the nominative. In all cases, therefore, where the latter has been abbreviated, we shall insert the ablative in its stead.

2*d*, The Devanāgari alphabet consists of 50 characters; the Persian of 32; the Roman of 25. It follows, that many sounds, expressed in the first by a single character, require two in the latter. But some of the Devanāgari letters are regularly transmuted into simple Roman characters, of which the sound (at least as we pronounce them) is materially different. The constant transposition, however, into the same letter, proves the identity of the word. Thus, the sound of *ch*, in 'much,' is expressed in Devanāgari by a simple character. That letter, in the Roman alphabet, is uniformly changed to *qu*, which is wanting in the former. Thus, the word 'chatur,' *four*, becomes, in Latin, *quatuor*; the conjunction 'cha,' *and*, becomes the Latin *que*, and, like it, is never used but at the end of a word. In like manner, the character used for *b* aspirated, or *bh*, is usually changed to *f*, also wanting in the Devanāgari alphabet. Thus, 'bhrātara,' a *brother*, becomes *frater* in Latin. Other regular mutations, and a few anomalies, will be indicated as they occur. It must be superfluous to warn the reader, that the signs of the Latin nominatives, *us*, *a*, or *um*, form no part of the word. We now proceed to lay before our readers a specimen of the sort of words which occur with the same signification in the Sanscrit, Latin, Persian, and German languages.

San-

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
deva	deus	khoda	gott	God
vāt	vent-us	bād	wind	wind
vadana	—	badan	—	body
ārām	—	ārām	—	a garden
rung	—	rung	—	colour
yugum	jugum	—	—	a yoke
pada	pede, *abl.* Gr. *ποδα*	pā	fuss	foot
sira	—	sir	—	the head
pitara*	pater	pider	vater	father
mātara	mater	mader	muder	mother
bhrātara	frater	brader	bruder	brother
swasāra	soror	khuaher †	schwester	sister
putra	puer, *a boy*	pur	—	a son
duhitāra	—	dokhter	tokhter	daughter
naptāra	nepote, *abl.*	nabira	—	grandson
jamātara	gener	dāmād	—	a son-in-law
mrityu	morte, *abl.*	morg	—	death
snusara	nurus	—	—	a daughter-in-law
swasur	socer	khaser	schwieger	a father-in-law
swasuri	socrus	—	schwiegerinn	a mother-in-law
khar	—	khar	—	an ass
hansa	ans-er	—	gans	a goose
gāvā ‡	bove, *abl.*	gaw	kuh	cow, the species
sācra, *belonging to Sacra, the Indian Jupiter*	sacra, *sacrifices*	—	—	—
nar	mare, *abl.*	nar	—	male
hasta	—	dust	—	the hand
vādi	vates	—	—	a speaker, a poet
āpa	aqua	ab	—	water
asi, *a sword*	aci-es, *a sharp edge*	—	—	—
agni	ignis	—	—	fire
dhara	terra	—	—	earth
bhumi	humus	zumin	—	—
aswa	equus	asp	—	a horse
swaca	—	sag; *in old Persian* spaca; *see Herodotus*	—	a dog
yauvan	juven-tus	juani	jugend	youth
yuva	juvenis	juan	junge	young
ayas	æs	as, & ahen, & alzine	eisen	iron or brass
—	æneus	aheni	—	of brass or iron
sacradās, *a servant of Jupiter*	sacerdos			
megh	—	megh	—	a cloud
nam	nom-en	nam	name	name
chandramāh	—	māh	monde	moon
mās	mensis	māh	monat	month
tapa	tepor, *warmth*	tābash	tohend, *furious*	warmth
dwāra	—	der	thüre	door
ghurma	—	gurm	warm	warm
narma	—	narm	—	soft

* The Sanscrit nominative *pita* being formed by elision, we have, in this and the three following words, marked the radical letters which occur in all the other cases.

† The Sanscrit *sw* are, in Persic, always changed to *kh*.

‡ The nominative *gaiv*, formed by abbreviation.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
vac	vox	awaz & vac	—	a word & the voice
tanu	—	tan	—	the body
purna	plenus	pur	volle	full
matta	mustus, *new wine;* *and* mattus *moist*	must	—	{cated mad and intoxi-
carman	cæremonia	car	—	a religious act
mahâ	magnus	mah	—	great
gaurava	gravi-tas	gurani	—	weight
lâghava	levi-tas	—	leichte	lightness
bâhu	brachium	bazu	—	the arm
târâ	stella	sitârâ	stern	star
bhaxa	victus	—	—	food
jânu	genu	zanu	knie	knee
mushica	mus	mush	mous	mouse
danta	dente *abl.*	dindan	—	teeth
raja	rege *abl.*	—	—	a king
poti, *a lord or master*	potis	—	—	powerful
nav	nav-is	nauh	—	a boat or ship
ushtra	—	shatar	—	a camel
chhaya	—	saya	schatten	shade
clada, *weeping*	clades	—	—	a calamity
divos	dies	—	tag	day
harit	virid-is—*perhaps also* hortus, *a garden.*			green
swana	sonus	—	—	a sound
sweta	—	sufid	weiss	white
sthan	sta-tio	stan	stand	ſtation
calebâr	corpore, *abl.*	calbad	kærper	body
twac	tactus	—	—	the touch
bhim	timor	bim	—	fear
parna	penna	pur	feder	feather
asthi	os	astakhuan	—	a bone
pâttra	patera	—	—	a vase
pralaya	prælium	—	—	{tle destruction, a bat-
madhya	medium	—	mittell	middle
ratha, *a carriage*	rota, *a wheel*	—	—	—
vamini	femina	—	—	woman
vir	vir	—	—	a man, a hero
jana	gen-te, *abl.*	—	—	people
vala, *strength*	valetudo, *health; and* valere, *to be able.*			ſtrength
râi	re, *abl.*	—	—	wealth
mana *	men-te, *abl.*	—	—	the mind
suadu	sua-vis	—	—	sweet
sthir	sta-bilis	stuar	—	stable
nava	nov-us	nu	new	new
ania	ali-us	—	ander	another

* The root *man, think, remember*, makes in the preterite *mamâna*, correſponding with *meminit*, he remembered. From this root, comes *mand, mens*, mind or underſtanding. The name of the firſt human being *manu*, is obviouſly derived from this root, and ſignifies, endowed with reaſon. Mankind are hence named *manava*, a man, (ſon of Manu), this word being the regular patronymic of *manu*. From this word, the Gothic word *mann* is manifeſtly derived; but the Germans appear to have retained ſome tradition of Manu himſelf. Tacitus ſays of the Germans, 'celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuiſtonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoreſque.' But the Latin word *homo*, has the ſame origin. The nominative is formed by ellipſis; the ablative *homine* exhibits the radical letters. The firſt ſyllable *ho* is manifeſtly redundant, ſince it is not found in *homine*, no man.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
hridaya	corde, *obl.*	—	herz	heart
udar	uterus	—	—	belly
ancus	uncus	—	—	a hook
vidhavā	vidua	bivah	wittive	a widow
rudhir	ruber	—	roth	red
loca, *the world*	locus, *a place*	—	—	—
corno, *the ear*	cornu, *a horn*	—	—	—
anguli, *the finger*	unguis, *the nail*	—	angusht	—
suparama	supremus	—	—	supreme
sarpa	serpens	—	—	a serpent
gana	genus	—	—	a tribe or class
bhru	—	abru	—	eyebrow
acsha	echus *olim*—oculus	cheshm	augen	eye
ava	ovis	—	—	a sheep
kesa	cæsaries	—	—	the hair of the head
macshā	musca	macas	—	a fly
sankha	concha	—	—	a conch or shell
lubdha, *a greedyman*	libido, *desire*	—	—	—
phula	flos & folium	gub	blume	a flower

The Pronouns are as follow.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
aham	ego, me	men	ich	I
man, *acc. sing.*	me	men	mich	me
nah, *acc plur.*	nos	—	uns	us
twan	tu	tu	du	thou
vah, *acc. plur.*	vos	—	—	ye
tava	tuus	—	deine	thy
sus	suus	—	seine	his
tad	illud	—	das	that
idem	id & idem	—	diese	this, the same
cah?	quis?	ke?	—	who?

We add a few Verbs, only remarking, that the sign of the infinitive must be neglected in considering the analogy of the following examples.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
lobh-itum	libere	—	lieben	to love or desire
vap-tun	—	vaften	web-en	to weave
as-tum	esse	hus-ten	seyn	to be
vom-itum	vomere	—	—	to vomit
jiv-itum	viv-ere	zi-sten	—	to live
me-tum	metere	—	—	—
da-tum	da-re	da-den	—	to give
pri-tum	pi-are	—	—	to please

hence priya, pius, *affectionate.*

mor-tum ‖	mori	mor-den	—	to die
cor-tum, *root* cri	cre-are	cur-den	—	to create or make
pac-tum †	coqu-ere	pokhten	—	to cook

‖ From the root *mri*, die, comes *mrit*, duſt or clay. Hence a name of the earth, *mritti*. The Indian mythologiſts conſider the planet Mars, as ſon of the earth, whence he is uſually called *Bhaumis*, the patronymic of *bhumi*. The patronymic of *mritti*, the earth, is *marte*.

† The root is *pach*; we have already ſaid that *ch* is always changed to *qu* in Latin.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
tap-itum	tep-orare	taften	—	to warm
yoc-tun	jungere	—	—	to join or yoke
jnātum	novisse, notum, & gnarus, *skilful*	dan-esten	kennen	to know
vah-itum	veh-ere	—	—	to convey
—	man-ere	man-den	—	to remain
i-tum	i-re	—	—	to go
dhar-tum *	tenere *	dash-ten	—	to hold
met-tum	met-iri	pimu-den	messen	to measure or mete
pi-tum	bibere	—	—	to drink
as-itum	esse *or* edere	—	essen	to eat
bhac-tum	victi-tare	—	—	to feed
vart-itum	vertere	—	—	to turn
hlād-itum	hilar-are	—	—	to make glad
hence hlād, hilaritas, *glad-ness.*				
chesht-um	quæsit-are	—	—	to seek
the *ch*, as usual changed to *qu*, seems to be preserved in the French, *chercher*; hence also *chaſſe*, *quaſſio.*				
swop-tum	sop-ire	khuabiden	schlafen	to sleep or lull asleep
hence swatna & somn-us, *in Latin and Sanſcrit.*				
sre-tum	servire	—	—	to serve
plo-tum †	fluitare	—	—	to float
me-tum	eme-re	—	—	to buy
ga-tum	caneré	—	—	to sing
hence gan & can-tus, *the Sanscrit and Latin words for a song.*				
pinis-itum	pingere	—	—	to paint
sthatum	sta-re	ista-den	stehen	to stay or stand
riti	ritus	—	—	a rite
cœlas, *the Indian Olympus*	cœlum	—	—	heaven
rit	rite	—	recht	rightly
vala, *force, violence, an army*	bellum, *war*	—	—	—
palli	villa	—	—	a village
ricsha	ursus (arctos)	—	—	a bear
poschat	post	pus	—	after
antara	inter -tus	ander	darin	within
hina	sine	bi	ohne	without
loch, (*root*) *shine*	lux	roshan	licht	light
ec	unus	ec	ein	one
dwau	duo	du	zweij	two
traya	tres	se	drei	three
chatur	quatuor	chehar	vier	four
pancha	quinque	penj	funf	five
shat	sex	shesh	sechs	six
sapta	septem	heft	sieben	seven
ashta	octo	hesht	acht	eight
nova	novem	nu	neun	nine
dasa	decem	deh	zehen	ten
ecadas	undecim	yazdeh	elf	eleven
dwadas	doodecim	duazdeh	zwælf	twelve

** From theſe verbs come *dhara* and *terra*, the Sanſcrit and Latin names of the earth.

† The root *plu*, signifies to flow, to dive, and to submerge. From this is derived *fluere*, *pluere*, and *plwoia*. It is remarkable, that *Pluto*, the past participle, signifying ſubmerged, ſhould furniſh the Latin names of two divinities who dwell under ground, *Pluto* & *Plutus*.

Sanscrit.	*Latin.*	*Persian.*	*German.*	*English.*
trayadas, &c. &c.	—	—	—	—
vinsati	viginta	bist	zwansig	twenty
trinsati	triginta	si	dreisig	thirty
sat	centum	sad	—	a hundred
sahasra	—	hazar	tausend	thousand
siv-itum	su-ere	—	—	to sew
us-tah, usta, ustum	ustus-a-um	sukhta	—	burned
cathayati	in-quit	—	—	quoth he
jan-itum	gen-erare	zaden	—	to generate
itar, itera, iterum	alter-a-um	—	ander	another
iti	ita	—	so	thus

tar (*root*) *signifies* tra-verse; *hence* antara, *within*; and uttara, *beyond*; *the Latin prepositions* ultra *and* trans.

upar *	super	—	über	above, upper
crus-tum	cruciare	—	—	to excruciate, to cross
crus-tah, crusta, crustum	cruciatus-a um	—	—	tormented, crossed
mala, *dirty, sordid*	malus	bud	—	bad
cwo?	quo?	cuja?	wo?	whither?
moto	mod-us	—	—	manner
rajata	argentum	sim	siellur	silver

We fear the examples we have now given, will appear to be more than were requisite to establish the analogy of these languages in the *words* which compose each; and certainly they might easily be extended. But it is time we should advance to the *second* point, the analogy in their *structure*; which will be found no less remarkable.

1. The distinctions of the feminine and neuter gender are the same in Sanscrit and Latin.

Ex. *Sans.* divyah divyā divyam.
Lat. divinus divina divinum.

2. Those cases which are nearly uniform in all the declensions, such as the accusative in *m*, the genitive, the dative and ablative plural in *is* or *bus*, bear a marked resemblance to the terminations of the same cases in Latin.

3. The Sanscrit signs of comparison are essentially the same as in the Latin, Persic and Gothic.

Sans.	guru, *heavy*	gurutar, *heavier*	gurutama, *heaviest.*
Lat.	grav-is	gravior	gravissim-us.
Pers.	gurān	gurāntar	guranterin.
Germ.	schwer	schwerer	schwerste.

The German superlative is also used in Sanscrit; for, *garishta* may be substituted for *gurutama*.

4. The Sanscrit infinitive in *tum*, resembles the Persic in *den*, and the German in *en*.

Sans.

* The root *pri*, to please, to be agreeable, gives *piare*, to propitiate the gods, in Latin; and in Gothic *freuden*, to be pleased; whence the name of the Gothic Venus, *Freya*, and the Sanscrit word *priya*, amiable. *Freytag* or *Fridog* is named in Sanscrit from the same planet; but the name refers to her generative powers.

Sans. cus-itum, *to kiss.*
Pers. bus-iden.
Germ. küss-en.

5. The declension of the verb is substantially the same in Latin and in Sanscrit. Our limits will by no means admit of going through an analysis of the whole verb. We will confine ourselves, therefore, to the inflexions of the present tense, taking the substantive verb as our first example.

Sans. asmi asi asti smah stha santi.
Lat. sum es est sumus estis sunt.
Pers. am ai ast aïm aïd and.

Although this verb is irregular both in Latin and Sanscrit, yet we find them corresponding with each other throughout. It may, however, be satisfactory to view the analogy in a more regular example

Sans. jivāmi jivasi jivati jivāmah jivathah jivanti.
Lat. vivo vivis vivit vivimus vivitis vivunt.

It is deserving of remark, that the verb *as-tun, esse,* to be, is defective, having only four tenses. The other tenses of the Latin verb, as *fui,* &c. are derived from the root *bhu,* also signifying existence. The letter *bh,* as we have observed above, is often changed into *f,* in Latin. The Persic has precisely the same irregularity; and the preterite of *hustum,* I am, is *budam,* I was, corresponding with *fui.*

The preceding examples prove, that the termination of the first person, both singular and plural, in Sanscrit and Persic, is characterized by the letter *m,* as it is in most tenses in Latin,—thus, amaba*m*, amaba*mus*; that the second person singular is distinguished, in Sanscrit and Latin, by *s,* which is omitted in Persic; that the third person has *t,* in the two first languages, which is changed to *d* in Persic; that *tha, tis,* and *id,* distinguish the second person plural in the three languages; and *anti, ant,* and *and,* form the terminations of the third person plural. Their analogies and their differences equally suggest some curious observations.

1. It is obvious, that, in all the three tongues, the letter *m* distinguishes *me,* the person who speaks. A language so refined as the Sanscrit, must have undergone many changes in advancing from rudeness to a state of such metaphysical perfection; and many words have probably been altered, which remain unchanged in the vernacular dialects. Thus, in Bengalese, *āmi,* I, represents the Sanscrit *aham*; and this word, subjoined to the root of the verb, accordingly gives the first person singular, *jiv-ami,* I live. In Latin, it is formed by elision from the same words *viv-(eg)-o, vivo.* In Persic, this person is formed by adding *am.*

Hence, *purs-am*, I ask, the termination being obviously a contraction of *ami*.

2. The consonant *t*, marks the third person singular in Latin and in Sanscrit. It is the only radical letter of the third personal pronoun, in the latter language: thus, *jiva-ti*, is literally *he lives*. This, indeed, is less obvious in Latin, because the pronoun *tud* no longer exists. In its room the demonstrative pronoun *etud* has been substituted, and the *t* changed into *l*; hence *illud*. The radical letter is found also in *iste* and perhaps in *id*; and, at all events, the use of the *t* as the termination of the third person, proves that it formerly existed as a pronoun, *viv-it*.

3. In the first person plural, a difference seems to occur; but it is only apparent. Its termination, in both Latin and Sanscrit, is *mus*. But the Brahmans direct, that wherever *s* occurs as a final, it shall be converted to *h*. Before this arbitrary change, there was *jivamus*, corresponding with the *vivimus* of the Romans. But whence this *mus* in both languages? In Sanscrit, the plural pronoun *nah*, we, was originally *nos*, and changed by the rule above mentioned. But *nos* itself, in both languages, is manifestly a corruption of *mos*, *m* being the radical letter of the first personal pronoun, whether plural or singular: *vivimus* would therefore have become *vivinos*, if verbs were as susceptible of change as the other parts of speech.

4. *s* and *tha* mark the second person singular and plural in Sanscrit: *s*, *sti*, and *stis* or *tis*, in Latin; *amas*, *amatis*, *amavisti*, *amavistis*. If the *s* be derived from a pronoun, it is lost in both languages, and only exists in the Greek συ. We think it possible they may be contractions of the root *stha*, *sta*, stand: *ama-vi-sti*, he who stands here (*i. e. thou*) *loved*. The use of the Gothic *st*, to form the same person, is completely in favour of this supposition, which, however, we only give as a conjecture.

5. The terminations of the third person plural are, *anti*, *ant*, and *and*, in Sanscrit, Latin, and Persic. The origin of those terminations should be found in the nominative plural of the pronoun *tud*; but if *anta* was ever its form (a conjecture highly probable, from our extensive class of names possessing it), it is now become obsolete.

The Sanscrit imperative resembles the Latin *as-tu*, let him be, *es-to*. *Sunto*, let them be, is identical—*sunto*. The hints of Mr Tooke, in his admirable treatise, are confirmed and illustrated by the Sanscrit verb. That ingenious writer conjectures *audiam* to be a contraction of *audi(re)am(o)*, I wish or love to hear. The termination of the Sanscrit future seems to us manifestly formed from a verb signifying desire; the root *ish*, desire, being

being regularly added with the signs of the persons, to compose the future. Thus, the root *yach*, seek, becomes *yach-ishyati*, he will seek. Our readers will have observed, that the Sanscrit infinitive has the termination of the Latin supine.—*Da-tum*, to give, is the supine in one language, and the infinitive in the other; and has the same signification in both. The Sanscrit preterite is formed by a reduplication of the root: thus, from the root *rāj*, shine, comes *rorāj*, he shone. Evident traces of this are to be found in a multitude of Latin verbs in the same tense, as *dedi*, *cecidi*, *cecini*, *pepuli*, *steti*, &c. &c. The participles present and past are formed by the addition of identically the same terminations in both languages.

We have now said enough, we trust, (our readers may possibly think too much), to show the analogy between the languages of the East and those of the West. In the course of our observations, we have had occasion to consider and to compare the structure of both. But, of a language which Sir William Jones has not scrupled to call 'more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more excellently refined than either,' it would not be easy to give an idea within the limits of a review. It would be still more difficult to render a dissertation on grammar interesting to the general reader.

All the distinctive characters which discriminate antient from modern languages, are found united in the Sanscrit. Whoever compares a work composed in it, with its translation into Bengalese, will recognise the same peculiarities which distinguish the Latin from its modern derivatives. Its eight cases render the use of prepositions superfluous; and in Sanscrit, these are exclusively employed as prefixes to verbs, being without signification alone. To the same circumstance the Indian poets are indebted for the freedom of their transpositions, the sense remaining perspicuous, without subjecting the words to any settled collocation in the composition of each sentence. This structure facilitates those harmonious measures, so much preferable to rhyme, which the modern poets of Persia and India, as well as of Europe, are obliged to call to their assistance, to conceal the defects, and to compensate the monotony of their language. But whatever elegance the modern tongues may be susceptible of, every man capable of enjoying the charms of composition feels, that what is gained in precision, is lost in energy; that the capability of saying much in few words, is one of the first excellencies of a language; and that mere perspicuity is far from compensating that energetic conciseness, which, in the writers of antiquity, at once delights and exercises the understanding of the reader.

ART. VII. *The Radical Cause of the present Distresses of the West India Planters pointed out, and the Inefficiency of the Measures which have been hitherto proposed for relieving them demonstrated, &c. &c.* By William Spence, F. L. S. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 105. London, Cadell & Davies. 1808.

An Inquiry into the Policy and Justice of the Prohibition of the Use of Grain in the Distilleries, including Observations on the Nature and Uses of a Vent to superfluous Land-Produce, and a particular Application of the General Question to the present Situation of the Colonial Interests. By Archibald Bell Esq. Advocate. 8vo. pp. 116. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. London, Murray. 1808.

IT is now some time since we called the attention of our readers to the alarming state of colonial affairs; and endeavoured to trace to their true source, evils, the existence of which no man can deny, whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to their causes, or their extent. We were led, by these inquiries, to a demonstration as rigorous as the nature of the subject would allow, that the slave traffic alone is the cause of the distresses in question; that the consequences of that long course of crimes which men have, by a singular perversion of language, been accustomed to call a branch of commerce, are now felt in their full force; and that our mercantile interests are at length suffering most severely for our long neglect of humanity and justice. The subject has, since the publication of those remarks, undergone a great deal of discusson, both in Parliamentary committees and out of doors. The West Indians have asserted, that their case was not fairly before the public when we last considered it; and they have attempted to make it better, by bringing more of it forward. We are therefore reduced to a necessity, which, without any affectation, we must term a very unpleasant one, of going over the whole question in detail, and sifting the arguments and calculations of those who maintain doctrines opposite to our own, with a minuteness, not the less tiresome because it is indispensable. We have to apologize to our readers for leading them over so much dry and tedious matter; but the subject is highly important; and it is in vain to meet particular estimates, and minute details of sums and dates, by any general or theoretical views. Such views are, no doubt, to guide us through the details; and, if rightly applied, they render the deductions of political arithmetic as certain as the demonstrations of the mixed mathematics,—we ought, perhaps, rather to say, of the *other* branches of the mixed mathematics. We must premise

mise a few remarks on the two very valuable tracts now before us.

Mr Spence's name is sufficiently known to the public by his former work. We had the fortune to dissent from the doctrines of that work very widely; but, unless in so far as he undervalues colonial possessions, we find nothing in the present pamphlet which does not command our implicit assent. Indeed, there is so remarkable a coincidence between his views of the subject, and those advanced in our former Number, that we cannot but feel highly flatttered at receiving such respectable support. The two arguments were published nearly at the same time; and not the smallest reason exists for suspecting any previous communication. Both parties may therefore feel the more confident in the accuracy of their reasonings. The coincidence alluded to is so close, that it would be quite superfluous to give any abstract of Mr Spence's tract;—we should only be repeating our own statements. For the same reason, we dare not express our whole opinion of Mr Spence's merits, lest we might be accused of indirectly extolling our own.

The '*Inquiry*' of Mr Bell is a work of great value. It contains a clear, just, and faithful examination of the whole of the principles upon which the question of the distilleries must be discussed. The author's doctrines are uniformly sound; and his views are those of a political economist, more than commonly skilful in the application of his science to practice. It might perhaps have been better, if, taking the question up in its most general form, he had treated of the plan for substituting rum for British spirits, and thus transferring the home distillery to the West Indies. The question of substituting sugar for grain in the home distillery, is to be determined by the same views; and differs from the former only in certain special circumstances, of which some weaken, while others strengthen the application of the general argument. As we shall treat this matter at length in the sequel, it is unnecessary to present our readers with any abridgement of Mr Bell's very able and judicious performance. Our views will be found to agree precisely with his, as far as the topics coincide; and we shall considerably abridge our discussion of the points touched upon by him, in the full confidence that, by referring to his tract, the deficiency will be most amply supplied.

The only objection which we think it necessary to state to either of these works, is common to both; and we consider it as a charge of some moment. Mr Spence clearly traces the distresses of the planters to their overtrading; and shows, that no remedy exists for the evil but a decrease of sugar. Mr Bell examines one of the remedies proposed,—demonstrates its impolicy

and injustice,—and admits, that the evil originates in overtrading. But neither of these authors has stated to what cause this overtrading was owing. Neither of them (and on Mr Spence it was peculiarly incumbent) has denounced the African slave traffic as the root of the whole evil. Their deductions are thus materially defective; for they leave their reader to wonder, how so strange a thing can have happened as a continued supply of rude produce all over the tropical colonies, for years exceeding the demands of the market; and, unless this difficulty is clearly explained, many thinking persons will be slow of believing the positions which involve it. But how immeasurably more important, even than this, was the benefit derived to the cause of sound principles, by showing mankind that their advocates, after being ridiculed as fanatics, or at best pitied as mere theorists, are in the end borne out triumphantly, by the testimony of facts; and that, in the most famous instance in which the claims of justice and of policy were ever attempted to be contrasted, they have been found wholly to coincide!

Before proceeding to examine the state of this important case, as it is now given to the public, we must recal to the recollection of our readers, in a very few words, the doctrine which we maintained when the question was formerly under discussion; because we shall be obliged to show, how all the attempts to overthrow it have terminated in placing it upon still firmer ground, and because there is no one part of the controversy which may not be most speedily decided by an appeal to that doctrine.

The West Indian body ascribed their distresses to the excess of sugars in the British market; and the more independent members of their class imputed this, in a great degree, to the absurd system of capturing sugar colonies, into which the war waged by England had for many years degenerated; while the rest traced it only to the difficulty of reexporting produce to the Continent, and the cheap supply of the foreign markets by neutral carriage. In opposition to this statement, we endeavoured to show, that there was an excess of sugars, not merely in the British market, but in the market of the world; that America made more sugar than Europe and America together could consume; that, although the various effects of the war might cause this glut to affect the different colonies somewhat differently, the evil was general and independent of the war; and that, although some palliatives might be administered, the only radical cure was to be found in a diminished culture of the sugar cane all over the West Indies. For the proofs by which these positions were maintained, we refer our readers to the Ninth article of the Twenty-first number.

Since the publication of that article, another committee has been

been appointed by the Houſe of Commons to inquire into the proper means of relieving the Weſt Indian body. It was an obvious remark upon the proceedings of the former committee, that they had avoided the material part of the queſtion; and, without intending the ſlighteſt diſreſpect towards them, we took the liberty of ſuggeſting, that their inquiries had never been pointed towards this quarter, where they had every reaſon to expect their adverſaries would be eager to meet them. It is certainly very poſſible, that the Weſt Indians ſhould not have anticipated the arguments by which they were aſſailed; but it would have been much more in the common courſe of things, if ſome one of the many acute and indefatigable perſons, who do honour to that large and reſpectable claſs, had thought fit to inſert, in the multiplicity of depoſitions and documents, a ſolitary queſtion or account illuſtrative of the ſtate of the Continental ſugar market. Such a ſtatement could not have greatly extended a report, already ſufficiently voluminous. It would have borne, even in the eye of a careleſs inquirer, a more obvious relation to the queſtion at iſſue, than nine tenths of the evidence which the committee amaſſed; and its production would have removed all grounds for cavil and ſuſpicion,—perhaps have precluded the neceſſity of further inveſtigation. But *after* the public had been fairly put in poſſeſſion of the argument againſt the planters,—when a further inquiry was found to be abſolutely requiſite, becauſe of the imperfect manner in which the firſt had been conducted,—we ſurely had ſome right to expect, from the new committee, a full production of every attainable piece of evidence, and more eſpecially of that information which moſt immediately bears upon the chief, nay the only point at iſſue. We lament exceedingly to find, that this expectation is diſappointed. A volume of above four hundred folio pages, cloſely printed, * has been the fruit of the committee's labours. Much information, of very great value, as we ſhall ſpeedily ſhow by pointing out its application, is no doubt contained in this book. The talents and practical knowledge exhibited by the witneſſes, are highly creditable to them; and are ſuch, indeed, as only the merchants of the firſt commercial country in the world could have diſplayed. The induſtry of the committee is alſo very commendable; for, beſides collecting papers, and preparing ſome very able reports, they appear to have continued ſitting to hear evidence upwards of two months. Yet, ſtrange to tell, with the omiſſions of their predeceſſors before their eyes, as the very cauſe of their own appointment,—with the queſtion before their eyes, whether the

* This includes the two Reports of 1806 & 1807, on the Diſtilleries and the State of the West Indies.

the glut of ſugar is general or topical?—(for this queſtion they have plainly gone out of their way to avoid, after having given it an indirect anſwer)—with the knowledge which they muſt have had, that this queſtion could only be ſettled in the planter's favour by proving the Continental market to be underſtocked—with the fulleſt powers of 'ſending for perſons, and calling for papers,'—they have actually left the direct evidence where they found it, after a few arguments from accounts formerly produced; and have given us not one tittle of *new proof*, either that the general ſupply of ſugar is leſs, or the general demand for it greater, than their adverſaries had maintained it to be. What is the obvious inference from this omiſſion? That no ſuch proof exiſts.

In our former article upon this queſtion, we brought direct proofs of the contrary poſitions; and although we are far from ſuppoſing, that the members of the committee ever caſt their eyes over theſe humble pages, we are quite confident that the Weſt Indian body are aware of every argument adduced againſt them; and would have contrived means, in the courſe of their depoſitions before the committee, to diſcredit our evidence, or to rebut it by counter-proofs, had it been poſſible. As we certainly have no right to offer ſtrictures upon the proceedings of a parliamentary committee, we truſt no one will ſuſpect us of any ſuch intention. We confine ourſelves entirely to the ſtatements of the Weſt Indians; and if we take theſe from the reports of the committee, it is only becauſe we there find them brought together in the moſt convenient form.

The only argument advanced by the Weſt Indians, which even profeſſes to meet the doctrine maintained by us, is drawn from a compariſon of the import with the export of ſugar during a ſeries of years. This has been brought forward with much triumph, and has received, we are rather ſurpriſed to obſerve, the ſanction of a committee, ſaid to have been conſtituted purpoſely, of ſuch a variety of claſſes, as muſt confine the Weſt Indian intereſt to that influence alone, which their evidence and reaſonings ſhould beſtow. We ſhall therefore examine it with ſome attention. The average annual importation of ſugar, ſay they, into the United kingdom, for five years ending 1785, was 131,600 hogſheads of 12 cwt. each.* The average exportation, for the ſame period, was 13,100 hogſheads, leaving for the annual home conſumption 118,500. The average home conſumption of 1802 and 1803, obtained

* Through the whole of the calculations in this article, we reduce the cwts. of the Report, and other ſtatements, to hogſheads of 12 cwt.; and, in general, neglect the figures in the two right hand places. Refined is of courſe always reduced to raw, by the uſual proportion.

tained by the ſame calculation, was 184,000 hogſheads; the ſame average for four years ending 1807, was no leſs than 219,700 hogſheads; and the home conſumption of the laſt of thoſe years, 1807, was 210,000, excluſive of the direct import into Ireland, which, calculated at its amount in 1806, would raiſe the total home conſumption of the empire, in 1807, as high as 221,000 hogſheads. Hence it is inferred, that the annual conſumption of ſugar in this country has increaſed, in about twenty years, from about 118,000 to above 220,000, or that upwards of 100,000 hogſheads more of that commodity are uſed now than were required twenty years ago. Again, the average annual export in 1802 and 1803 was 141,800 hogſheads. The average annual import of old Britiſh colony ſugar, during four years, ending 1807, was 252,200 hogſheads; from which, if you deduct the average conſumption for the ſame period, as above eſtimated, there remains an overplus of 32,500 hogſheads; but the laſt peace export was 141,800 hogſheads. Hence it is inferred, that, upon a reſtoration of peace, the demand of the Continental market would exceed, by 108,300 hogſheads, the whole overplus of the Britiſh colony produce;—or that, after ſatisfying the home conſumption, we ſhould find there was a demand for our ſugars much greater than we could anſwer. Such a picture is, no doubt, ſo very gratifying, that one is rather unwilling, after contemplating it, to look at the reality. But this, though an ungrateful, is, nevertheleſs, an indiſpenſable duty; and we muſt therefore go through the tireſome work of ſifting the ſtatement juſt now analyzed.

In the firſt place, this ſtatement is liable to ſeveral particular objections, nearly fatal to the credit of the calculations upon which it proceeds. The choice of the five years ending 1785, as the ſtandard by which to eſtimate the increaſe of conſumption, is peculiarly unfortunate; for many extraordinary circumſtances concurred to diminiſh the import of Britiſh ſugars during that period, and to affect the whole of our ſugar trade. The enemy was in poſſeſſion of Grenada, St Vincent, and Dominica, (iſlands which exported about 25,000 hogſheads annually), during the whole of 1781 and 1782, and until the execution of the treaty of Verſailles in 1783. St Kitts, Montſerrat, and Nevis, which afforded an export of about 28,000 hogſheads, were in his hands from the very beginning of 1782 till the end of the war. The loſs of produce occaſioned by the military operations of the war in moſt of thoſe captured iſlands, and by fire in ſome of them, is well known. Dominica, in particular, was well nigh ruined; and ſeveral of thoſe unfortunate ſettlements were viſited by ſevere hurricanes and droughts in the courſe of the ſame period. That dreadful ſcourge, indeed, never fell ſo heavily upon the Weſt India iſlands as during the

the five years in queſtion; and Jamaica, in particular, was laid waſte by it no leſs than thrice within that time. The want of ſupplies from America, and the other bad effects of the enemy's naval ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas were ſo ſeverely felt, that the Aſſembly of Jamaica eſtimated the loſs of ſlaves, ariſing from famine, in a ſhort period, at 15,000. From all theſe cauſes, which we really muſt be excuſed for thinking the Weſt Indian body cannot have forgotten, it reſulted, that the import of ſugar into Britain during the five years in queſtion, was much leſs than it had been for many years before, or has ever been ſince. It was only, as we have already ſtated, about 131,000 hogſheads, and the export about 13,000; whereas, the average annual import from the ſame colonies for five years ending 1775, was nearly 153,000 hogſheads, the export 6,900; and the average of four years ending 1790, was above 162,000 imported, and 12,000 exported. Had the earlier of theſe periods been aſſumed as a ſtandard, the home conſumption would then have been 146,000 hogſheads. Had the laſt period been referred to, which is on every account preferable, we ſhould have had a conſumption of 150,000 hogſheads, inſtead of 118,000, wherewith to compare the alleged conſumption of the preſent day; ſo that the ſuppoſed increaſe of conſumption would have been, not 100,000 hogſheads in twenty, as the Weſt Indians ſtate, but only 70,000 hogſheads in fifteen years; and no more than 74,000 hogſheads in thirty years. The advantage thus gained, we ſhall perhaps be told, is not great. Then, we anſwer, it was the leſs worth getting in this very ſtrange way. But ſome perſons may perhaps think a difference of 26,000 or of 30,000 hogſheads, no ſuch trifling matter, when they recollect that the whole queſtion of the diſtilleries has been raiſed with a view to relieve the ſugar market of exactly this amount of produce.

Still more undeniable is the error which prevails in the other branch of the ſtatement. In order to ſhow that the produce of the old British ſettlements could not anſwer the demands of the foreign market on a return of peace, the West Indians take the average annual export of 1802 and 1803, as the probable demand of the Continent, and compare it with the difference between the import from the old ſettlements in the following years, and the total export to the Continent. Now, this is manifeſtly an unfair eſtimate, even admitting the general mode of eſtimating conſumption which the West Indians adopt. For the export of 1802 included, not merely the export of old British colony produce, but the whole of the produce of the conquered colonies. The definitive treaty was ſigned March 25th; and three months were allowed for reſtoring thoſe conqueſts. But before the end of June, the whole of the ſugars raiſed there were ſhipped for England;

land; nay, from the approaching restitution, much more than the usual quantity was sent, as Sir William Young himself, (West India Common-Place Book, p. 61.) expressly admits. * It is difficult to calculate the whole amount of this quantity; but we can easily discover the least at which it may be stated. The conquered colonies, during four years ending 1807, sent to Great Britain and Ireland annually, on an average, about 41,000 hogsheads. To this must be added the import from Martinico, which, in 1798, was above 18,000 hogsheads; and, in 1802, must have increased very considerably. Making no allowance for the effects of the general clearance, therefore, above 60,000 hogsheads were brought to England in 1802, which, in any other year of peace, must have gone directly to the Continent; and, by *at least* this amount, was the export of sugar from hence to the Continent, greater in that year, than it would have been in any other. † Neither is it fair to take 1803 as a standard; for the war was renewed at the very moment that the greatest part of the crop was coming over to France and Holland. This is partially alluded to in the evidence of Mr Maryatt before the committee, Report, p. 257; but it requires no illustration. From the month of May until the end of the year, then, a great allowance must be made for the foreign sugars brought into England by our cruizers, and the difficulty of transporting the enemy's sugars, always greatest at the beginning of a war. Besides, we captured some of his settlements during that year. Tobago and St Lucia were taken in June;—Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, in September: and though no great quantity of the crop was probably to be found at the latter period, it is certain that we found a large proportion in Tobago and St Lucia. The whole effects of the hostilities in 1803, then, cannot be estimated to have turned less than 30,000 hogsheads out of their natural course, and brought them into the English market. The average export of the two years, therefore, must be diminished by 45,000 hogsheads on the very lowest calculation, before we can fairly compare it with the overplus likely to remain in the English market during peace; so that, admitting the general principles assumed by the West Indians, they have—we will not say purposely—but with a very happy carelessness, made an error in their own favour of *at least* this amount, in their calculations.

But

* He says, the 'extraordinary influx of that year arose from the clearing all residue of produce on hand in the conquered colonies, then returning to France and Holland.'

† We include Trinidad in this estimate; because the West Indians have done so in theirs,—wishing to show, as we presume, favour towards the old colonies.

But we have now to remark, that the principles themselves are altogether objectionable; and that the calculations founded upon them prove absolutely nothing in favour of the planters, though admitted to the last cypher. They assume, that the excess of the import above the export, is equal to the home consumption; and this excess having gone on greatly increasing, it is inferred that the consumption has increased in the same degree. Before this can be admitted, we must see some proof that the stock remaining on hand has not gone on increasing also. The West Indians do not either admit or deny this in their arguments and reports; they, in fact, pass it over wholly unnoticed, as if it had no bearing upon the question. But, in their evidence, we find some data by which we can ascertain it. It appears, that at the end of 1804, the quantity of sugar in the West India dock premises was 60,000 hogsheads;—at the end of 1805, it was 69,000;—and at the end of 1806, it was 82,000 hogsheads. The import of sugar into London, in 1804, was 164,000 hogsheads;—the stock on hand at the end of that year, about 39,000;—the import in 1806, was 195,000;—the stock on hand at the end of that year, about 82,000. There remained on hand, therefore, at the end of 1804, less than a fourth of the quantity imported into London;—but at the end of 1806, there remained between one half and one third of the import. Still greater is the increase in other places. The import into the seven principal outports, was, in 1804, 88,000 hogsheads;—the stock on hand, 11,000, or one eighth. In 1805, it amounted to somewhat more than one fourth; and in 1806, it was above a third of the whole import.* The last committee have not enabled us to bring this calculation further down: a circumstance the more to be regretted, because nothing can be clearer than its bearing upon the very question at issue. However, they have given the quantity on hand in the docks in March 1808, and the quantities delivered for the six preceding months:† and it appears from this account, that there must have been on hand, at the end of 1807, about 85,000 hogsheads. If the import of London for that year be estimated by the proportion which it bore in 1806, to the whole import of the country, (and it is not *our* fault that we cannot state it more directly) it will amount to 187,000 hogsheads; so that the stock on hand in 1807, bears a considerable greater proportion to the import, than it did in the year before.

All this demonstrates very clearly the fallacy of taking the balance of exports and imports as a sufficient criterion of home consumption; and shows, that the glut of sugar which we formerly described,

* See Report, 1808, p. 243, *& seqq.* † *Ibid.* p. 184.

ed, has been rapidly increasing. For the prices during the four years which we have been comparing, fell first slowly, and afterwards with unexampled rapidity. In 1804, the average was 53s. 3d.; in 1805, from bad crops, the importation was considerably smaller, yet the price fell to 52s. 2d.; and, notwithstanding this, there was more left on hand than the year before. Still the planters endeavoured to hold out, in consequence of the low crop and high price; but in 1806, a good average importation with the stock already on hand, brought the price down to 44s. 5d.; yet, at the end of that year, a much greater quantity remained on hand than ever, and in a far greater proportion to the quantity imported. In 1807, though the importation was considerably less than the former year, the price fell to 34s.; and though, no doubt, a great deal more of the article was consumed at this price than could have been used at a higher rate, and though the accumulation of the stock was thereby prevented from going on so rapidly as it had done under a more gradual fall of prices; nevertheless, there was a considerable increase of the stock in hand, both absolutely and relatively; both in proportion to the surplus of former years, and in proportion to the import of the year itself. We submit this, even to the West Indians themselves, as a very satisfactory demonstration of our general proposition. In truth, can any man fancy to himself a better proof of glut than the history of the sugar trade here affords? Nor let it be said, that the exportation to the Continent had been obstructed during the period in question. This will not account for the facts. The average export of these four years was 81,000 hogsheads, being exactly the average of 1800 and 1801, after deducting the produce of Martinico: And the exportation of 1807, was nearly 95,000; notwithstanding which, the price fell, and the surplus stock increased;—so that the foreign market was nearly in the same state of glut with the home market, in spite of all the enemy's decrees; and the same alterations of low price and increased consumption, are observable in the history of both.

A particular account of the revenue arising from sugar in different years, would furnish the means of estimating how much of the excess of the importation over the export is actually consumed in the country. The committee have only given us the duties of three years, ending 1807; but these sufficiently prove how much more was imported than sold. The excess of the import above the export, in 1805, for Great Britain, was about 173,000 hogsheads;—the excess in 1806 was about 233,000. If the stock on hand was nearly equal at the end of 1804 and 1805, and the consumption was increasing at the same rate with the excess of the import above the export, we might expect the additional duty received

ceived in 1806 to be 27s. per cwt. on 60,000 hogſheads, or 972,000l. But the groſs duty received in 1806 was only 673,500l. more than that of 1805—leaving a difference of 298,500l., anſwering to about 221,000 cwt., or about 18,400 hogſheads, for Great Britain alone. But it will be ſaid, this eſtimate proceeds upon the compariſon of the groſs duties, and makes no allowance for reexportation. This, however, is favourable to the argument of the Weſt Indians; for the export of 1806 exceeded the export of 1805 by about 7400 hogſheads. And accordingly, the net duties of 1806 exceed thoſe of 1805—that is, the duties, after allowing for drawback and bounty—by only 657,795l.; being a difference in favour of our argument, which anſwers to about 1000 hogſheads. The difference between the criterion of conſumption aſſumed by the Weſt Indians, and that afforded by the revenue, is ſtill more remarkable in the year 1807. The former makes the conſumption of Great Britain leſs, by about 43,000 hogſheads, than it was in 1806;—the latter, if taken from the groſs duties, makes it near 30,000 hogſheads greater; if taken from the net duties (which, on account of the great increaſed export of 1807, is certainly much fairer) only about 4100 hogſheads less; in other words, the revenue ſhows only about one tenth part of the diminution, which the criterion aſſumed by the West Indians would eſtabliſh.

These calculations may be truſted, when different years are to be compared; because, if there is any incorrectness in the principle (and we admit that they only give a wide approximation), the ſame will affect all the years in the ſame proportion. But the Committee might, with the greateſt eaſe, have given the account of the revenue, ſo as to furniſh a moſt accurate criterion of *abſolute* conſumption. If, inſtead of ſtating merely the ſums received as *groſs duty*, the ſums paid in *drawback*, and the ſums paid in *bounties*, under theſe three general heads, they had ſtated the proportion of drawback paid upon export of muſcovado, and the proportion paid, in name of bounty, upon ground or powdered refined ſugar, (both of which payments are claſſed under the head of drawback by the ſtatute, *vid.* 45. Geo. III, c. 93, and all the other acts regulating the drawbacks on ſugars); and had alſo ſtated the proportion of bounty paid upon refined ſugar in loaf, and baſtards; it would have been eaſy to aſcertain the quantity of ſugar reexported after payment of duty; and the difference between this and the quantity which had paid duty would give the total conſumption, independent of ſmuggling. We ſhall add the formula of the account which we ſhould wiſh to ſee produced, in order to prevent all miſapprehenſion.

Years.

Years.	Gross duties received.	Drawback on Muscovado.	Bounty on Powdered	Bounty on Bastards.	Bounty on Loaf.

If the arrangements at the customs do not allow of this account, much might be gained by a clear statement of the rates at which the bounties were paid,—that is, of the proportions in which those bounties were allowed at the different sums specified in the statutes: and an account, showing the proportion of sugar reexported without payment of duties, to that reexported after payment, distinguishing refined from raw, would answer nearly the same purpose. As we are wholly destitute of the lights which such statements would afford, we must endeavour to grope our way, as far as we can, towards the object of our search;—and the only path which we have been able to find, is the following. It is known, that one cwt. of muscovado sugar yields about five tenths of refined loaf, and two tenths of bastards. We may suppose, that the quantity of refined, exported, (independent of the powdered, which ranks with muscovado), consists of these two kinds in the proportion just now specified. If so, we can calculate the amount to which the bounty corresponds; for we have two equations, and only two unknown quantities. The operation is very simple, and may be seen below:* it leads to this rule,—Multiply the number of shillings in the bounty paid any year by seven, and divide by the sum of five times the number of shillings in the average bounty payable that year per cwt. on loaf, and by twice the number of shillings in the average bounty per cwt. on bastards; the quotient gives the number of cwts. of refined and bastards exported: increase this in the proportion of seven to ten, on account of molasses and waste; and you obtain the whole

* Let a = whole bounty paid in any year; m = average bounty per cwt. on refined loaf in that year; n = average bounty on bastards; x = total of cwts. of both sorts exported; y = total of cwts. of refined loaf exported:—We have $y : x - y :: 5 : 2$, and $y = \frac{5}{7}x$; also $my + n(x-y) = a$; or $(m-n)y + nx = a$, and $\frac{5}{7}(m-n)x + nx = a$, or $x = \frac{7a}{5m+2n}$. Whence the quantity of muscovado corresponding is easily found, being to x as 10 to 7.

quantity of muscovado sugar used in the year for the refining of exported sugar: then suppose that the whole drawback is upon muscovado reexported, (and this will be perceived, by any person who follows the calculation, to be much in favour of the West Indian's argument), and divide that drawback, accordingly, by the drawback allowed in the year; the quotient being added to the sum formerly obtained, gives the whole quantity in cwts. of muscovado sugar, which has paid duties, and is not consumed in the country: if this is subtracted from the quantity on which duty has been paid, the remainder is the consumption of the year. By calculating on this principle, it will be found, that the consumption of 1807 was 2,159,990 cwts., or about 180,000 hogsheads for Great Britain,—that the consumption of 1806 was about 183,000, and of 1805 about 140,000 hogsheads,—and, of consequence, that the average yearly consumption for these years was above 167,000 hogsheads, being nearly 32,000 hogsheads less than the criterion of exports and imports gives. According to the same proportion, the consumption of Ireland should be reduced to about 21,000 hogsheads; and this would give the whole consumption of the empire at 188,000. This is the nearest approximation which the *data* afforded by the published documents enable us to make. We have already fairly pointed out the best modes of checking our result; and as the discovery of truth is our only object, we shall heartily rejoice to find, that our labours lead even to disclosures which may convict our calculations of error.

Although, therefore, we may differ from the West Indians respecting the amount of the actual home consumption, we are not at all disposed to deny that it has greatly increased. We must now, however, proceed to observe, that its increase, in whatever degree, furnishes no proof that the natural and effectual demand for sugar has augmented, or the general glut of the market been relieved. If the price of the article has been constantly falling, while the consumption was increasing,—if, both in the home market and abroad, sugars were sold in much greater quantities than before, but at prices so reduced as not to replace the sums expended in raising and carrying them,—surely the increase of consumption, instead of proving that the market of the world requires so much more sugar than it did before, only shows that the glut has reduced the price, and that *the reduction of the price has created a demand* which otherwise would not have existed. The planters prove nothing, if they do not show, that there has been such an increase of demand as to take off more sugars than before *at a fair price*. The question is, not how much sugar may be used in the world, but, how much can be bought. And to give sugar for less than it costs, is not selling,

selling, but throwing it away. Let us only consider the facts as stated by the West Indians themselves. Jamaica sugar costs 20s. 10d. per cwt. in the island; the cost in the other settlements is 19s. 6d.; so that the average expense of raising sugar is about 20s. per cwt. The charges of transport during war are from 15s. to 16s.; therefore, it costs between 35s. and 36s. to bring a hundred weight of sugar into the European market; and this sum must be replaced before the expenses are returned. In 1807, the total import of sugar into the United Kingdom was 316,000 hogsheads, of which there were exported to the Continent about 94,000. But at what prices were the 222,000 hogsheads sold which were not exported? The average price for the year was only 34s., being 1s. 6d. or 2s. less than the article cost; and, that a still greater loss was experienced on the quantity exported, appears from the statement which we gave in our former Article. To call a consumption, forced, we had almost said, by such sacrifices on the part of the grower, an effectual demand—or any thing but the effects of a glut—is an abuse of terms. It is manifest, that if any means could be devised of raising these prices, the consumption now under consideration would cease;—and we are thus led to inquire, what is the quantity really demanded by the home market? This can only be ascertained by a comparison of former years, when the prices were neither extraordinarily high nor very low.

The average price of sugar in the London market during four years, ending 1797, was 57s. exclusive of duties; and it is stated, that this price only yields the planter from 6 to 7 *per cent.* clear upon his capital. The average annual import into the United Kingdom, during the same period, was, 188,500 hogsheads; the export 56,500; leaving a balance of 132,000 hogsheads for home consumption. In the five years ending 1790, the price was considerably lower. Yet Bryan Edwards estimates the returns of a West India estate, during that period, at 7 *per cent.* upon the capital. We may therefore conclude, that the consumption was not greatly affected by the lowness of price: it was 150,000 hogsheads annually. In the five years ending 1800, it was 165,000 hogsheads, although the price was 65s. 9d. But the sugar used in the distilleries during two of those years, greatly relieved the home market. If allowance is made for this circumstance, it will appear, that the actual consumption of sugar did not increase materially in the United Kingdom from 1790 to 1800; or that, whatever tendency there might have been towards an augmented use of the article, the rise of price checked it. Again, in five years ending 1775, the average consumption was 146,000 hogsheads, and the prices such as to allow the planter

full 7 *per cent.* This gives, when compared with the five years ending 1790, a very trifling augmentation of quantity—only 4000 hogsheads; therefore we may expect the consumption to fall nearly to its former level, when the prices shall rise to their former rate. The average import of the three years ending 1807, was 307,000. Of this it is probable that a good deal more could be consumed, were the price again raised to 57s., than was consumed at that price eleven years ago. If we allow 18,000 hogsheads for this increase, we have a home consumption of 150,000; and we are the rather disposed to think this estimate not greatly wide of the truth, because it supposes that as much sugar will be consumed at 84s., duties included, as was twenty years ago consumed when the gross price was only 45s. It supposes the middle classes of the community to spend above three millions and a half more than they formerly did upon the same quantity of sugar, besides the rise of the retailer and refiner's profits;—a very ample allowance both for the progress of wealth and the depreciation of money.

Let us next consider what the export of the remainder is likely to be. The average export during four years ending 1797, was annually 56,500 hogsheads. In this period we had possession of several foreign colonies. Tobago was taken in April 1793; Martinico in March 1794; St Lucia in April of the same year. These islands, producing nearly 28,000 hogsheads, we retained during the whole of this period. Guadaloupe was captured in April, and retaken in December 1794; and from St Domingo we imported, in 1798, above 2000 hogsheads. We had possession of much greater part of it during the period in question: so that, allowing for the supply of Guadaloupe in 1794, and making no calculation on account of Trinidad, which we consider as a colony permanently British, * the average yearly import from the conquered colonies, in that period, must be estimated at 35,000 hogsheads. Deducting this from the total export from Great Britain to the Continent, we have 21,500 hogsheads as the average annual quantity of British colony sugars required by the demand of the Continent during four years ending 1797. Since that period, the enemy's produce has been much more easily and systematically conveyed to Europe, by the intervention of neutrals, than it was in the earlier stages of the war. † The quantity of that produce has also increased most rapidly, as we had occasion to show in our former Number. Nothing but the extreme depression of prices at which British produce was sold, could

* It was captured February 1797; but its produce was then very trifling.

† The instruction of 1798 is well known.

could have forced any considerable amount of it into the Continental market; and we may be satisfied, that sufficient allowance is made for the increased demand of that market, if we state its augmentation as proportional to the increase of our own home consumption. This would give the natural and permanent demand of the foreign market, at fair, average prices, as somewhat less than 25,000 hogsheads; and when we recollect, that during four years ending 1790, it averaged only 12,400,—that the blank occasioned by the destruction of St Domingo has been much more than filled up by the culture of the Spanish settlements, as well as of those which our capital has manured,—and that the restrictions imposed by the war are likely to alter the habits of the people on the Continent,—while the loss of capital, occasioned by the same cause, will certainly diminish their means of enjoyment,—we must be convinced, that an estimate which allows their consumption of a mere luxury to double in twenty years, cannot err by undervaluing the consumption.

We should apprehend, then, that the whole quantity of sugar required, both by our home consumption and our exportation, permanently, naturally, and independently both of the war and the present extremely low prices, cannot be much more than 175,000 hogsheads; call it even 180,000. This deducted from 307,000, the average yearly import of three years ending 1807, leaves 127,000 hogsheads to be accounted for. From this we have to subtract the produce of the conquered colonies, which will probably be restored at a peace. In 1807, it amounted to about 41,000 hogsheads, including the import into Ireland, as calculated upon the proportion of the total Irish import of sugar to the total British import; so that no less than 86,000 hogsheads remain, the produce of our own settlements, over and above the quantity for which the market, both home and foreign, affords any effectual demand. This quantity, at present, is forced into consumption by prices so low as not to repay the expenses of its production and carriage. Were the prices raised so as to afford him a fair profit upon his stock, this quantity would remain a drug on his hands. Of course, while it remains in existence, and while the sugar trade continues unmonopolized, the prices never can rise; and the seller, if such he can be called, must be ruined.

We are now to consider the measures proposed for the relief of the planters. Of these, some have for their object the discovery of new vents for the surplus which we have been describing; others propose the diminution of the planters' expenses; and others pretend to embrace both these objects together. To the first class, belong the projects for opening the distillery to sugars, and for encouraging its consumption in agriculture: to the se-

cond, belong the propositions for relaxing the colonial monopoly with respect to the sugar refinery, and for altering the duties on sugar consumed in the United kingdom: to the last class, belong the plans for relaxing the colonial monopoly with respect to trade; and the prospect—we lament to think it can scarcely be called a plan—of peace.

I. The substitution of sugar for grain, in the distillation of spirits, may be effected, either by introducing sugar into the distilleries of this country, or by enabling the planters to bring their rum into the home market at a lower price than that for which corn spirits can now be sold. With respect to the former plan, it is admitted, that, even under the high price of barley, and with the low price of sugar, during the last year, the distillation from grain could only be prevented by a prohibition;—in other words, it was, notwithstanding the prices, more advantageous to every party concerned, that spirits should be made of grain than of sugar. Into the detail of this matter we need not now enter;—the fact is clearly proved, by the legislative measure which was found to be necessary in order to exclude grain from the distillery. The King in Council was empowered, by proclamation, to prohibit the distillation of grain, until forty days after the commencement of the next session of Parliament; and the ground of this measure was stated to be, the fear of scarcity. It is quite manifest, however, that if scarcity was to be apprehended, either from a failure of crops or an interruption of our foreign supply, the rise of price would speedily indicate its approach, much more surely, and with infinitely greater precision, than the evidence of any witnesses whom a parliamentary committee, or the King's ministers during the recess, could examine. If the price of grain rose so little as not to prevent the distiller from using it, there was evidently a very slight degree of scarcity. The moment when the interest of the country required a stoppage of the corn distillery, and the moment when the distillers' own interest would have stopped it, must coincide very nearly. They would coincide entirely, but for the loss occasioned by a change in the machinery for the distilling process: and it is a sufficient reason against interfering to make the coincidence more instantaneous, that we thereby throw a certain loss upon a class not naturally liable to it. The assertions, that barley is dear,—that its price is higher now than it was a year ago,—that therefore no harm is done by forcing it out of the distilleries,—are wholly vague and gratuitous. Who shall presume to say at what price barley is too dear, or is sufficiently dear? The price has advanced, no doubt;—but, if the supply is contracted, ought it not to advance? We cannot tell how much of the advance is owing to a bad crop, and how much to a failure

of

of importation: but, by regulating the price,—by fixing the point beyond which the price shall not rise,—we shall most assuredly interfere with the just profits either of the grower or the importer: and the prohibition of grain in the distilleries proceeds exactly upon the supposition that such a *maximum* ought to be established. Its advocates pretend to know the point beyond which the price of grain should not rise. The corn distillery, say they, is stopt; yet barley has not fallen. But had the stoppage not taken place barley would have been dearer: its price would have risen, until the grower and importer found, that, by raising it a little higher, they must lose the distillers' custom. At this point, the rise would have stopt,—unless, indeed, the scarcity had been so great as to raise it still higher, and exclude it from the distillery. Its exclusion, effected in this manner, would, however, have still kept the price lower than it could have been, had no grain been grown for the distilleries; and thus, the interest of the distiller and consumer would not have been sacrificed, although those of the grower and importer were consulted.

The effect of the prohibition has been, therefore, to take something out of the farmer's pocket,—to increase the losses which the war was at any rate throwing upon the importer of corn,—to diminish the gains of the distiller,—to make the people pay more, for a spirit which they dislike, than they would have done for one which they like,—and to make them less economical in the use of grain than the state of the supply renders prudent. But this temporary measure has been infinitely less detrimental to the country than one of a permanent nature would have been; for it has not yet checked the cultivation of grain, nor interfered with the corn trade, further than by the general uncertainty and alarm which such experiments create. The strenuous opposition which the measure experienced, and the known power and prejudices of the landed interest, have probably induced a belief that the experiment will not be repeated or extended; and the farmers have most likely made no material changes in consequence of this one attempt upon them. The effects of a permanent exclusion of grain from the distilleries, would be much more serious. Above 470,000 quarters have hitherto been consumed annually in the manufacture of spirits in Great Britain. What would be the consequence of destroying the regular demand for this quantity? We need not enter minutely into the mass of evidence which the committee has collected, with very praiseworthy industry, in order to answer this question. Neither need we inquire into the means by which the farmer would attempt to compensate himself for the loss of such a market. One thing is quite obvious, that the whole grain produced by the country would speedily be di-

minished by at least the amount of 470,000 quarters,—probably by a good deal more. Now, it is exactly because we consume in ordinary years a large quantity of grain, in various ways, beyond our necessary use of that article, that we are in very little danger of ever suffering from famine. By luxurious living, by feeding animals kept for pleasure, by distilling spirituous liquors,—we have hitherto been accustomed to use so much grain—to live so much better than, upon a pinch, we could continue to do,—that the worst crops can only reduce us to short allowance, abridge our gratifications, and leave us altogether safe from the greatest of public calamities. It is in this circumstance, more than any other which can be named, that a civilized nation is superior to a barbarous tribe; and a rich country, moderately peopled, like France or England, to one overpeopled, like China. The latter being always on short allowance, is subject to famine every bad season: the former, having always much to spare out of its fund of subsistence, depends on the seasons only for the enjoyment of certain luxuries. The project of substituting sugar for grain in our distilleries, is calculated to bring us nearer short allowance—nearer the wretched situation of the Chinese than we hitherto have been, by a quantity equal to the maintenance of 300,000 or 400,000 persons. A sudden influx of so many mouths would not convert a common year into a dear one, more certainly than the proposed measure would convert a dear year into a year of scarcity, or even of famine. Hitherto, a bad crop might prove inconvenient,—henceforth, it may be fatal.

The answer which has been attempted to this argument, on the part of the West Indians, is, that we at present *import* a larger quantity of grain than the proposed measure will cut off; and further, that the colonies require annually large supplies from abroad, which the British farmer could easily furnish. But this removes the objection only a single step, and there leaves it as strong as before. Our certainty of escaping a famine arises, in some part, from the grain grown by foreigners for our consumption. If we regularly use for food the quantity hitherto made into spirits,—or if we send to our colonies as food, what we have hitherto consumed in spirits,—the foreign grower will cease to raise as much as he formerly did. Less food—less of that which, on an emergency, may be turned into food—will exist in the world than before. We, or our colonies, are therefore so much nearer short allowance than we formerly were. Instead of having both the foreign supply and the grain used in distilling, to reckon upon as resources against a famine, we have only, at the utmost, the grain used in distilling. But as a bad season is very frequently confined to one country, we have possibly sacrificed a larger

larger for a leſs ſupply,—we have given up the chance of balancing our own bad ſeaſon by the good ſeaſon of our neighbours. Suppoſe that we ſtop the corn diſtillery permanently, and, by ſome ſimilar meaſure of violence, ſtop the importation of 500,000 quarters of grain, ſo as to force the ſugar into diſtillation, and the corn of home growth into conſumption:—A bad harveſt comes; and we look for the 500,000 quarters which uſed formerly to be imported; but they are no longer to be found:—our former correſpondents have ceaſed to raiſe what was no longer wanted. We have, indeed, that proportion of 500,000 quarters grown at home, which the whole crop bears to an ordinary crop,—perhaps only 450,000; but had we continued diſtilling and importing, we ſhould have had not only this amount of grain to relieve us, but moſt probably the full 500,000 from abroad as uſual; becauſe the ſeaſon abroad may very well have been good, although it was bad with us. In both caſes, our chance is equal, of relieving our wants by the general ſurplus of the foreign markets,—by bribing the foreign conſumer, with high prices, to reduce his allowance below that of ordinary years, when our crop, as well as his own, is abundant.

The plan of ſubſtituting rum for corn ſpirits in the home market, is liable to all the objections which we have urged againſt the worſt form of the excluſion of grain from the diſtilleries. Rum can at preſent be brought to market for 4s. 3d. per gallon, excluſive of duties; corn ſpirits for 7s. 3d. The duties of cuſtoms and exciſe upon the former, amount to 11s. 3½d. per gallon; the duty on the latter is only 7s. 2½d.; ſo that rum coſts altogether 15s. 6½d., and corn ſpirit only 14s. 5½d. This difference, notwithſtanding the ſuperior merits which the Weſt Indians aſcribe to their ſpirit, is found perfectly ſufficient to protect the corn ſpirit; but there can be no doubt, that a diminution of the rum duty, or an increaſe of that on corn ſpirits, would put an end at once to all lawful diſtillation in this country. The conſequence of this would be, of courſe, a loſs to the farmer of his market for near 500,000 quarters of grain, and eventually a diminution to this amount of the whole ſupply of the country. An immediate loſs would likewiſe accrue of the whole diſtillery buſineſs. To indemnify the farmer for his loſs, or the public for its riſk of famine, is obviouſly impoſſible: but the Weſt Indians propoſe to indemnify the diſtiller out of the revenue which may ariſe from the new duties. Let us ſee, however, if even this is practicable. If the duties are equalized by raiſing the exciſe on corn ſpirit, a tax is levied on the people of this country, in order to indemnify the Weſt Indian planters againſt the effects of their own overtrading; and they are forced to drink rum inſtead

ſtead of corn ſpirit, for which it is univerſally admitted they have a preference. This method would likewiſe diminiſh the conſumption of ſpirits, and probably leave a conſiderable deficit in the revenue, after indemnifying the diſtillers; for it appears in evidence, (Report, p. 335.), that ſo ſmall a riſe as ¼d. on the gallon would injure the conſumption, and a riſe of 1d. affect it moſt materially, although the price would ſtill be 1d. lower than that of rum. But the manner of equalizing the duties moſt likely to be propoſed, is to reduce the duty on rum conſiderably below that on corn ſpirit, ſo that the whole price to the conſumer may be lowered. If ſo much only of the duty is taken off, as will make the two ſpirits ſell for the ſame price, upon the preſent prime coſt of the articles,—the preference for corn ſpirit, and the competition of the diſtillers and corn-dealers, will prevent the corn ſpirit from being diſplaced by rum. To effect its excluſion, a conſiderably greater reduction of duty muſt be made; and this cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 2s. 6¼d.; ſo that the price of rum ſhall ſtand at 13s. The revenue will, by this change, loſe 2s. 6¼d. on all the rum, and gain about 1s. 6d. on an amount equal to the corn ſpirit at preſent conſumed. The annual average conſumption of Britiſh plantation rum in Great Britain, for ſix years ending 1806, was about 2,778,000 gallons. The average of all ſorts conſumed muſt have been ſomewhat higher. For three years ending 1807, it was about 3,041,000. We may ſtate this 3,000,000 gallons, then, as nearly the quantity upon which a loſs, ſay of 2s. 6d. per gallon, would be incurred, or 375,000l. The quantity of corn ſpirit conſumed in England, on an average of the years 1805 and 1806, was about 2,925,000 gallons; and, eſtimating the quantity conſumed in Scotland by the proportion of the Scotch to the Engliſh diſtillation, the whole conſumption of the iſland was about 3,090,000 gallons,—the gain of 1s. 6d. on which would be about 227,000l.; ſo that a deficit of 148,000l. would happen to the revenue, inſtead of an increaſe, out of which to indemnify the diſtillers for the total loſs of their ſtock and trade. But if the reduction is only 2s. per gallon—making the price of rum 13s. 6d., or about 2s. a gallon lower than it now is, and only 1s. lower than corn ſpirits,—even then, the whole gain of the revenue will be a trifle of 9000l. for a fund of compenſation. †

We have now been ſuppoſing, that the conſumption of ſpirits will remain the ſame as before, although the price is very materially

† It would manifeſtly be unfair to take 1807 as a criterion of the conſumption of corn ſpirits; for, by Mr Jackſon's evidence, it appears that a very extraordinary, and indeed unaccountable increaſe had taken place in the uſe of ſpirits for that year.

rially lowered. This, however, cannot be expected to be the case. The consumption will greatly and rapidly increase; and surely, by this increase, the revenue and the planters will be the only gainers. No evil that can be stated, except perhaps the danger of famine to which the same measure will expose us, is more to be deprecated than the increased taste for spirituous liquors. It will fall entirely on the lower orders, whose health and morals must thus be widely and irreparably injured, in order to alleviate the distresses brought upon the planters by the African slave trade. The proposers of this plan, therefore, are reduced to a dilemma;—either the consumption of spirits will remain at its present rate, or will increase;—in the one case, the plan considerably injures the revenue;—in the other, a more likely case, it is infinitely detrimental to the morals and health, and ultimately to the wealth also of the community.

Of the two plans which we have considered, the last is certainly the one most conducive to the object in view—the relief of the West Indians. It would take out of the market sixty or seventy thousand hogsheads of sugar, and save on that quantity the drainage of one seventh which the article suffers before it comes into the market. The former plan is much less efficient; for, though it has raised the price of sugar, it must have also checked the consumption of spirits; and it cannot, therefore, continue to take out of the market the same proportion of sugar during the remaining period of the prohibition. It has already raised sugar from 32s. to 50s. *per* cwt.; but the prohibition of grain cannot force the consumption of spirits at advanced prices; and, instead of employing sixty thousand hogsheads, the new distillery will probably not require above 40,000,* leaving, besides the increase of glut this year from other causes, a quantity undemanded of more than 40,000 hogsheads. Thus, of these two plans, the only one which produces the desired effect—the one which alone answers the end in view—is that which is liable to the greatest objections, both on general principles, and in its details. It is one, indeed, which the West India committee have not ventured directly to recommend; but have, with their usual, very laudable industry, illustrated, by evidence and accounts, leaving the mention of it in the form of a hint or suggestion upon their third report.

II.

* The Report of the West India Dock Committee, just published, shows, that the importation of West India produce, in 1808, has greatly exceeded that of any former year. The numbers of the larger vessels which landed their cargoes in the docks for the last three years, were 477, 503, and 558 respectively. The Report mentions the

II. The proposition for using sugar in feeding cattle, is so very gently pressed by the West Indians, and illustrated by so small a portion of evidence, that we cannot think they rely greatly upon it. We proceed, therefore, to the next class of plans, after briefly observing, that the use of sugar in feeding, if not sufficiently extended by the late low prices, ought, on no grounds, either of justice or policy, to receive legislative encouragement; and that any diminution of the duty with a view to this object, would only create an unlimited power of defrauding the revenue. † The measures which we are now to consider, have in view the reduction of the cost attending the growth, carriage, and sale of sugars. First, it is proposed to give the planter the power of refining his own sugars. A more reasonable demand was surely never urged. With almost all the utensils adapted to the refinery—with such a command of labour as must render the process scarcely any addition to his other expenses, the planter is, by the most absurd part of the monopolizing system, compelled to send his sugar to England in the bulkiest form, at a great needless expense of freight, and subject to the certain loss of one part in seven by drainage; for which part, however, he is to pay freight, as well as for that which reaches the market. This glaring absurdity is cherished by the British government; because it increases the tonnage required for the West India trade, and gives the mother country a small branch of manufacture at the expense of the colonies. As well might the planters be forced to send so much rubbish in proportion to each hogshead of sugar, or to pay the passage of one empty cask for every seven full casks which they ship; for this would be increasing the shipping interest. As well might they be compelled to send over raw canes from which British workmen could manufacture sugar; for this would both wonderfully promote the shipping interest, and add a large branch to our home manufactures. That this glaring abuse should speedily be rectified, no man can for a moment doubt; nevertheless, it must be recollected, that, like all abuses in commercial policy, it cannot

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the 'well known stagnation of export made' in 1808, and the 'extraordinary accumulation' of produce in the warehouses.

† It has been proposed to mix up sugar with substances which would prevent it from being used, except by cattle, and which could not easily be separated from it; and in this state, we are told, it might be sold duty free, with safety to the revenue. We have examined the experiments of Mr Parker with some attention; and have no hesitation in asserting, that they leave the question on general, and not on chemical grounds. They prove no difficulty of separating the two substances, which would not be overcome by a bounty of 27s. *per* cwt.

cannot be destroyed without an additional inconvenience. It has raised up another interest which ought in justice to be considered when we are projecting its destruction. The sugar refiner has risked his capital on the faith of the law as it now stands; and a compensation for the loss of his business is fairly due to him. This the committee, in their fourth report, explicitly admit; and by a calculation, which appears to us in all respects fair, they state the utmost possible loss of capital employed in the home refinery, at somewhat less than 820,000*l.*;—a much smaller sum than is lost yearly by the planter in consequence of the prohibitory duty on the import of refined sugar. To save this sum, then, could not prove a difficult matter, even were it required at once;—the planters could well afford to give it. But the probability is, that the colonial refinery would not suddenly supplant the home refinery, at least in its full extent.

Upon this part of the subject, in which it gives us much pleasure to agree for the most part with the West Indian body, we must state one correction of some consequence. A set of traders are not indemnified by the mere purchase of their stock at a fair price, if they are forced out of their line of business. In a country well peopled and stocked with capital, the greatest injuries often attend a change from one employment to another; because, besides the inevitable losses consequent upon such changes when they can be made, the difficulty of effecting them at all, is very considerable. A prudent statesman will always take this principle into his consideration, when he is called upon to correct even the most evident errors in the economy which his country has for a course of time adopted; and unless the magnitude of the evil, and the benefits to be derived from removing it, shall be found out of all proportion to the disadvantages of the change, he will refrain from attempting it, except by the most gradual measures; well knowing that there are but few instances indeed in which it is either just or politic, to sacrifice the good of a part of the community to that of the whole; and aware, that as no maxim is more liable to abuse than this, of preferring the whole to the part, because there is but seldom any occasion for making the comparison, so none has been more frequently and grossly perverted. In the course of this article, we have met with a case, where its application would be clearly a great abuse, even if there were reason to think that the community might gain instead of losing by the sacrifice of the individual interests,—we mean the case of the distilleries. The sugar refinery is one to which it may be applied with more safety; but the persons now engaged in that employment must receive a more ample indemnity for the loss of their trade, than the mere value of their stock, unless the change happens a great

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deal more slowly than the West Indians themselves pretend to expect. As for the shipping interest, it is very clearly proved by the committee, that they could sustain no loss whatever from the change in contemplation. We may therefore prepare ourselves to hear unmoved the loud clamour which that noisy body never fails to make upon all new regulations of trade, however indifferent to its concerns; and may perhaps have to steel our nerves against the yet louder echo of it, which has been known, on such occasions, to come from great political characters, who found they could turn the uproar *to account*.

If the duty on refined sugars imported should thus be lowered, it is evident that a greater amount by one seventh part of our importation, will reach the market, if the planter does not chuse to diminish his cultivation by one eighth. The present glut will therefore be increased by about 43,000 hogsheads of muscovado, or its proportion of refined, molasses, bastards, &c. But as this will be so much clear gain to the grower, he will be enabled to bear a still greater fall of price, and to profit by the additional consumption. His advantage in the foreign market will be even somewhat more apparent; for he will be enabled to meet the foreign grower and refiner upon much more equal terms than before. But the advantages of the other plan proposed by the West Indians—that of lowering the present duties on muscovado sugar—are far from being so clear. On the contrary, it appears that any such reduction would only put so much into the pockets of the consumer, at the expense of the revenue. The present low price of sugar * has been occasioned by the glut of the article—by the supply exceeding the demand. Would the competition of the sellers be lessened by a diminution of the duty originally paid? We find them at present bringing so much of the quantity imported into the market, as lowers the price to 32s., exclusive of duty. It has been proved, by the increased accumulation of the stock in hand, that, even at this price, the whole sugar imported is not sold. It is highly probable, that less of what used to be grown is imported, and that the profuse use, the ordinary waste of sugar in the colonies, is considerably greater than before. Although, therefore, the present price is the highest they can get, it is, at the same time, the lowest they can take. But they find it more profitable to take this price, than none at all: and, if they could get it for their whole stock, their whole stock would be brought into the market. It follows, that if the duty were lowered, more would be brought to market. If, for example, 7s. per cwt. is taken

* We are, of course, here speaking of the price before the late temporary rise from the stoppage of the corn distillery.

taken off, thoſe who before found it more profitable to take 59s. per cwt., groſs price, for 100 hogſheads, becauſe they received 32s. net per cwt., and who would willingly have ſold 10 hogſheads more, if they could have got as much for them, will now ſell the whole 110 hogſheads for 52s. groſs price, becauſe they will ſtill get 32s. net upon them: and there being no poſſibility of a concert among the large body of dealers, this conduct being purſued by many, will lower the price to the buyer accordingly. But it by no means follows that there will be a demand for the overplus attempted to be brought into the market. Some will make haſte to ſell more than they did before; but others will ſell leſs, if the reduction of price does not force ſtill more into uſe than is at preſent conſumed.

Whether this is to be expected, we cannot pretend, with any great confidence, to aſſert; but, after the great increaſe of conſumption which the low prices have already occaſioned, we ſhould think it difficult, by any further reduction, to augment it. The criterion of the revenue formerly ſtated would give the yearly conſumption of Great Britain, on the average of 1806 and 1807, at nearly 181,000 hogſheads. The exceſs of imports over exports, in the ordinary ſtate of the trade, is about as fair a criterion, and may therefore be appealed to for the five years ending 1800: it would give the average conſumption of thoſe years at 143,000 hogſheads for Great Britain alone. If we deduct for the quantity uſed in 1800 in the diſtillery, and make ſome further allowance for a ſmall accumulation of ſtock in hand, the total conſumption for ordinary uſes will be under 140,000 hogſheads. The price of this at 84s., the groſs average price of thoſe years, muſt have been 7,056,000l., excluſive of retailers' or refiners' profits. The groſs price of 181,000 hogſheads, at 66s. 2d., the average of 1806 and 1807, is 7,185,700l. The intereſts of the traders who come between the importer and conſumer, always prevent the prices to the latter from fluctuating as much as it does in the market of importation. The conſumer, therefore, paid somewhat less in the former period, and somewhat more in the latter, than, by this calculation, he appears to have done. He also paid the ordinary profits of the intermediate dealers and the expenses of manufacture, equally on the dear and on the cheap ſugars. If we reckon theſe expenſes at about 30s. per cwt., and make a fair allowance for the attempts of the dealers to keep the market from varying more than is abſolutely neceſſary, we ſhall find that about a million Sterling has been paid yearly for ſugar by the inhabitants of this country ſince it became cheap, more than they uſed formerly to pay. The increaſe of money paid is above three millions yearly, calculating on the ſame principles, from the ſtatement of the Weſt Indians; but it is difficult to believe ſuch

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an increase; and we only mention it here as an additional argument against their estimate of the increased actual consumption. We confess that we find some difficulty even in believing the smaller estimate; and are disposed to think, that the prices given by Sir W. Yong, from which we have deduced it, have been overstated. However, that a considerable sum is paid now beyond what was formerly paid for the same article, cannot be doubted; and when the West Indians contend that they have been carrying on a sort of partnership concern with the government, by which the profits have wholly gone to the government, it must be remembered, that the money paid in taxes on sugar, if it had not been so levied, must have been raised in some other shape. It comes from the middle classes of the community, who support, and must, from the nature of things, always support the great part of the public burthens; and an increase of their expenses in this article must, if disproportioned to the general accumulation of wealth in their hands, be attended with a diminution of their other expenses; so that, far from the increase of the revenue on sugar being a clear fund added to the public income, and ready to be spent in drawbacks and bounties,—ready, for instance, to allow the lowering of the whole duty on sugar,—this increase is only topical, and brings in a sum to the treasury, which, if it had not been paid under the head of customs on sugar, would have been paid in some other form. A diminution of the duty, therefore, if it did not increase the consumption, would be so much clear loss to the revenue. If it increased the consumption, so as to leave the revenue no loser, the planter would get nothing of the duty, but obtain prices as ruinously low as they have of late been on a greater part of his crop. But even this kind of relief, as far as it could be obtained without injuring the revenue, would require an increase of consumption altogether impossible. In order to leave the revenue equal, under a removal of the duty of 7s., the consumption must, in Great Britain alone, be increased nearly 60,000 hogsheads. We may safely venture to predict, that, if the duty were lowered, the consumption would be somewhat increased, but in a small degree; that the revenue would lose a large sum; that the glut continuing, the prices would fall, and the difference of the duty go into the consumer's pocket,—the planter selling a little more sugar than before, at equally low prices.

III. The length to which our observations have already extended, compels us to pass over the remaining parts of the subject with a very general notice. But this is the less to be regretted; because any question of throwing open the monopoly, or relieving the planters by a peace, seems unhappily, at the present

sent moment, matter of pure theory. We may well be excused for treating but slightly the benefits of a more open trade between the West Indies and America, when the folly of our rulers has shut out the mother country from all intercourse with that great and growing market. And to inquire whether the planter would be relieved by peace, might look like mocking him in his distresses, while our statesmen are every where seeking new quarrels, or devising pledges for making the old ones eternal. * Leaving, therefore, to a fitter opportunity, the full discussion of those subjects, we shall only take them up, so far as is necessary to complete our account of West Indian affairs, by showing, very briefly, that whatever benefits might accrue to the planters, as well as to all orders of the state, from the liberal and enlightened measures in question, those persons greatly deceive themselves who expect to find a remedy for the radical evils of the system in any such palliatives.

Let us begin with supposing that the trade to America were thrown open, and the West Indians allowed to barter for lumber and provisions, sugar and coffee, as well as rum and molasses. They would certainly get off a part of their surplus in this way; but the proportion, we are afraid, would not be very considerable. Before 1806, they enjoyed this trade under the permission of proclamations; and they exported, on an average of ten years ending 1803, little more than 6000 hogsheads annually. A vent of this extent would evidently afford but a slight relief to a glut such as we have described. † But suppose, as some have done upon very slight grounds, that the demand in America is for 30,000 hogsheads, and that we were to supply the whole of it; —what would become of the same quantity which they must at present, by this hypothesis, be taking from the enemy's islands? It would find its way over with the rest to Europe, and displace an equal amount in that market: and this loss would necessarily fall upon the sugars now exported by us.

The effects, then, of opening the American trade to its fullest

* See the late Declarations, and other official correspondence.

† In the Appendix to the Third Report of the Committee of 1807, it is distinctly stated by the most respectable West Indians, that the relief to the sugar market would not be very considerable, unless, besides allowing our planters to barter their sugars, our government should also blockade the enemy's islands, or, in some other effectual way, prevent the Americans from getting sugar elsewhere. See, particularly, the evidence of Messrs Wedderburn, Hughan and Shirley. Can the assertions in the text receive a stronger confirmation?

extent, must all resolve themselves into a reduction of the price paid for articles of American growth, necessary to the cultivation of sugar; and the effects of this measure in lowering the prime cost of sugar, must be confined to that part of the prime cost which consists of expenses for American stores. By the accounts from which the Committee of 1807 formed their estimate of the whole prime cost of sugar, we are enabled to ascertain the proportion of this which belongs to American stores. The sums paid on seven sugar estates in Jamaica for American supplies in 1806, together with those paid for the same articles on an eighth estate, during that and the three preceding years, form a total of 8797*l.*; and the whole expenses of the same estates, during the same time, amount to 62,570*l.* The American supplies, then, do not form one seventh of the whole charge of making sugar. It is from these very accounts that the West Indians estimate the prime cost of the Jamaica sugar at 20s. 10d., after deducting the net proceeds of the rum. But it will appear, that, making no allowance for the sale of that article, the whole charges are 27s. 1d. The proportion of this, then, which consists of American stores, is less than one seventh, or about 3s. 10d. How much of this is it likely that any opening of the American intercourse could save? The Committee have given us no *data* from which to form any estimate; but we perceive that the Assembly of Trinidad state the price of American stores, in their island, as about double the price in Martinico and Guadaloupe. We own that, to us, this appears utterly incredible; for British vessels are permitted to import those stores without limitation, and also to reexport sugar and coffee in any quantity to America: and surely so great a difference of price would immediately draw them into this traffic, until something like a level should be restored. If we allow a fall of twenty, or, at the utmost, twenty-five per cent., as likely to result from the perfect freedom of trade, the prime cost of the sugar will only be lowered 1s. 2d. per cwt.; and even the statement of the Trinidad Council would lead to an allowance of little more than 1s. 5d. Inconsiderable as this relief would be, we agree entirely in the propriety of granting it; and hope to show, in a future article, that the grounds upon which it has been withheld, are equally shortsighted and illiberal.

The restoration of peace would unquestionably diminish the present expenses of bringing sugar to market. The freight and insurance both on supplies and on homeward-bound produce, would fall; and it is certain that new channels of exportation would be opened, for the relief of the market. But against all this may be set the increased facility with which the enemy's sugars would reach Europe, and the encouragement of his cultiva-

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tion by a revival of his trade. The foreign colonies, it is universally admitted, make sugars cheaper than ours can. Their soil is much better, and they pay fewer taxes. These advantages, but especially the former, are more than sufficient to balance our superiority in capital, manufactures and navigation. The Committee of 1789 estimated the total effect of them, as reducing the prices in the proportion of five to seven. It is easy to perceive, then, that the peace prices in the market of the world, when peace is restored, will be regulated by the cheapness of the foreign sugars, and that as long as our market requires a large exportation—as long, in short, as the glut continues—our own sugars must be sold, both at home and abroad, according to the prices of the cheap produce.

We apprehend, then, that as the evil complained of in the colonial syſtem did not originate in any thing elſe than the exceſſive cultivation of the cane, the war did not *necessarily* aggravate this evil to any conſiderable degree. Hoſtilities might, in fact, have been carried on by a country poſſeſſing a decided naval ſuperiority, not only without increaſing the diſtreſſes of its coloniſts, but in ſuch a way as to throw upon the enemy the greater preſſure of the load common to all Weſt Indian proprietors. By abſtaining from conqueſts in the Weſt Indies—by carefully preventing the introduction of ſlaves into foreign colonies in our veſſels—by impeding the navigation of the enemy to and from his ſugar iſlands, as far as we could, conſiſtently with the law of nations—by doing our utmoſt to prevent him from ſupplying his colonies with ſlaves *—by adopting every method of encouraging our own trade with the Continent, clinging to our American connexions, and ſhowing ourſelves the protectors of neutrality, wherever the general inte-

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* To check the neutral slave traffic carried on with the enemy's islands, might have been impracticable, unless some previous arrangement had been made with the American government. We certainly should inculcate a respect for neutral rights, as necessary at all times, but as more essential in proportion to the extension of hostilities, and the violation of all public law by our enemies. Nevertheless, we question whether, in point of strict justice, and according to the law of nations itself, cargoes of kidnapped human beings are to be respected as innocent merchandize, when found on board neutral vessels on their voyage to an enemy's port. This, at least, is certain, that, with a government so well disposed as the American has always been to abolish the slave trade, few obstacles could have occurred to prevent some amicable arrangement which should give us the power of obstructing this odious intercourse with the foreign islands. No such attempt, however, could be expected from those who allowed the slave trade to flourish under the protection of English laws.

reſts of the world permitted it to exiſt:—By ſuch a policy as this, while we raiſed our name amidſt the ruins of public character by which we were every where ſurrounded, we ſhould alſo have preſerved our commerce from the general wreck of induſtrious purſuits; and inflicted upon our adverſaries the greateſt ſhare of the diſtreſſes which all colonial adventurers have brought upon themſelves—while we checked the progreſs of the common evil—ſaving the Antilles from bankruptcy, and redeeming Africa from deſolation. Thus much might have been effected by virtue and prudence: it would have been a palliative, at leaſt; and, if applied in time, it might almoſt have effected a cure. But our rulers were pleaſed to purſue an oppoſite courſe—of which, by the way, one can find no diſapprobation recorded in any of the Weſt Indian reports, largely as they treat of every other topic,—and ſeem to have exerted themſelves to elicit calamities from the war which did not naturally attend it, and which it is much to be feared peace cannot now leſſen. Our ſtateſmen, our ambitious ſtateſmen, muſt needs reverſe the policy of their *fathers*; and, inſtead of conquering America in Germany, bethink themſelves of defending Germany in the Weſt Indies. Armament after armament muſt be equipped, and army ſucceed army in the inheritance of a peſtilential climate, and conqueſts barren of all but honour. Barren? They were worſe than barren. They aggravated every diſtreſs of which our own colonies had to complain;—they haſtened the progreſs of our enemy's colonial reſources to the point where they muſt undermine our own;—they brought on the day of reckoning with Africa, far ſooner than it could otherwiſe have come—and revenged the countleſs wrongs which ſhe owes to our colonies, by involving thoſe colonies in one ſcene of miſery. If we were bid to expreſs, by a ſingle phraſe, the object of the only ſucceſsful operations carried on againſt the enemy by land, during the laſt war, we ſhould certainly ſay, 'the encouragement of the ſlave trade:' * and, ſtrange and diſmal to relate, this was the ſyſtem

* We must here repeat what we have so often before noticed, because the recollections are highly edifying, that the warfare pursued in the West Indies, viz. the capture of the enemy's settlements, suddenly increased the British slave trade to nearly double its former amount. This plan was again pursued during the present war; and the remedy of preventing the slave trade was only applied late in 1805. The extension of the slave trade, and the conquest of a sugar colony, are happily no longer synonymous terms: yet surely the state of the home market, and the difficulty of reexporting produce, not to mention the benefits which the hostile colonies derive from being in our possession, and having access to our capital, should lead us to deprecate, as a piece of the most unmeaning restlessness, the plan of attacking Martinico, said to be now in agitation, for a new proof of our *vigorous* policy.

ſyſtem adopted by a government which profeſſed itſelf generally friendly to the abolition; unanimouſly the patrons of religion and ſocial order; and altogether chivalrous in the cauſe of oppreſſed princes, and exiled nobles. Unhappily, not they, and not even the enemy whom they encouraged in his African traffic, but their own countrymen, have reaped the reward of ſo much inconſiſtency —ſo much ſhortſighted rapacity—ſuch ſneaking from the performance of their duty—and ſkulking behind the eſtabliſhed prejudices of the mercantile mob. But, whatever the country may have hereafter to pay for the calamities which are now oppreſſing the Weſt Indian body, let us never forget that the creatures of the ſlave trade are they who now ſolicit relief from the calamities which it has entailed upon them;—and, as often as their tale is told, while it excites our compaſſion, let it alſo keep alive the memory of that long reign of impolicy and contradictions, to which England and Europe, as well as the other parts of the world, owe ſo many of their preſent afflictions.

ART. VIII. *Partenopex of Blois; a Romance: Freely translated from the French of M. Le Grand, with Notes.* By William Stewart Rose. 4to. London. 1808.

IF critics could be prepossessed by the external beauty of a book, we should perhaps speak too favourably of this work. But we are past all gallantry of that kind. The whiteness, firmness, and purity of paper,—the strength and rotundity of types,—the breadth of margins,—even the attractions of coloured engraving, we can behold with equanimity—*Integri laudamus;* and if the author has sent his poem into the world with all these arts of fascination, in imitation of those fair suitors of whom he has read in romance, to smooth the wrinkled brow of criticism, we must tell him, that, to us, he might as well have offered base gold, or even his annual buck (see p. 200.) from the New Forest.

Yet we cannot pass without notice, the engravings from designs by Mr Richard Smirke, which decorate this elegant volume. For these, Mr Rose claims the praise of exhibiting 'a faithful picture of the scenery and habits of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the result of much industry and faithful observation.' We believe this to be perfectly well deserved. They are strictly according to the costume of those times; and free from that mixture of arms, dresses, and styles of architecture, which generally prevails in the drawings of undistinguishing artists. Considered in this light, they not only adorn, but illustrate the poem; and may be strikingly contrasted with those contemptible blots in aqu

tinta, or ill engraved portraits, which the purchaser of most modern books would cut out, if he were not restrained by the melancholy reflection, that they have doubled the price of his bargain.

It is much less than a century since the attention of the literary republic has been diverted, in a great degree, from Greece and Rome, to the laws, usages, and literature of what we call the middle ages,—a subject more copious, more applicable to modern times, and not less interesting. Among the original sources of this information, the Romances have justly been placed very high. It is needless, in this place, to combat those, if any there are, who despise such works. The respect shown to them by Du Cange, St Palaye, and the best French antiquaries, speaks sufficiently in their favour. Those, in fact, who are conversant with the legitimate histories of the middle ages, know how inexpressibly meagre they are, with a very few exceptions, as to the most interesting points—the state of manners—and the progress of society; so that, if a sacrifice was to be made of a Chronicle or a Romance, we should very frequently, with a view even to historical knowledge, in this comprehensive use of the words, throw the former, without hesitation, into the fire.

These legends bear generally strong marks of an Oriental lineage: of the many sources, at least, whence they have been derived, this is the most copious. It may seem strange, indeed, to deny the praise of invention to the *trouveurs* of France, and to look for any foreign origin of such works, as a warm imagination might be thought to suggest to the poets of every country. Yet there is much more of plagiarism in fiction, than would at first sight be believed. It has been always more easy and more safe to dress up an old story, than to form a new one. Few romances can be named, which have not some prototype, or of which no imitation has been attempted. There is the less to surprise in this, since even wit, which seems indigenous, has been generally a transplanted fruit. Half of Joe Miller may be traced to Athens,—and the remainder to Bagdad.

A question, however, might be raised, why, in those ages of the marvellous, these tales of faery came to supersede, in popularity, the domestic anecdotes which fill up the monkish chronicles. For, when so many saints and devils were gamboling around, for little other purpose than to amuse the public, it seems hard that more attention should have been paid to the enchantments of Merlin and Morgana. There was, indeed, a sort of competition between these rival powers of *feerie* and *diablerie*, to which we may ascribe the spleen which was borne by the monks towards the minstrels, and the satirical strokes with which the latter revenged

venged themselves on the monks. Among the vulgar, we suspect the feats of Beelzebub to have been the most popular. But, in the court and the castle, it was quite the contrary: the romances were full of pageants and tournaments, of chivalrous lore and warfare; and the terrors of enchantment were always of a kind that yielded to valour and fortune: whereas the religious legends were apt to lead to a much less favourable conclusion. The story of that tall black man, who beckoned out of his hall, in the midst of a feast, a certain Count of Maçon, might have excited some uncomfortable feelings in the heart of a feudal baron.

'The romance of Partenopex, or rather an extract from it, made its first appearance in the *Bibliotheque des Romans*, under the title of *Partenuple de Blois*, translated from a story in Spanish prose. M. le Grand has, however, successfully established the French origin of this work. His own translation is made from a MS. poem, in the library of St Germain-des-Prés, which he is at first inclined to consider as a production of the twelfth century: he afterwards, reasoning from a piece of internal evidence, revokes his first opinion, and, with greater appearance of probability, ascribes it to the thirteenth.

'Of its French origin, little doubt will probably be entertained by those conversant with the literature of the middle ages. It is scarcely necessary, after the able essays on these subjects by Mr Ellis and others, to insist, that all the antient romances were written in verse. Nor is this the only ground on which M. le Grand might vindicate the title of his country. The oldest verse which Spain can boast, is that of the Troubadours, whose works consist exclusively of metaphysical disquisitions on love, and satires; and even this strain of poetry, amongst the Spaniards, dates long posterior to the period which, arguing from the manners it reflects, and the sentiments which it breathes, must have given birth to Partenopex de Blois.'

The kings of France, as every body knows, are descended from Priam, through Marcomeris, son of Hector;—such luck had these Trojans to found every where better kingdoms than that from which they were forced to fly. In the course of this royal stem between Priam and Pharamond, there reigned a certain Cleoner, whose nephew, son of the Count of Blois, was yclepped Partenopex, the hero of our tale. On a certain day the king went out to hunt the boar in the wood of Ardennes, when Partenopex, after slaying one beast, is separated from his company in quest of another, which he has started. In vain Cleoner and his courtiers seek him on every side, and make the air reecho with their shouts and horns: no Partenopex was within hearing; 'nor voice nor bugle made reply:' and they return home to supper without tidings. Meanwhile,

'Far prick'd the boy, nor slack'd his courser's pace,
Nor wist that he was single in the chase,
Till day was well nigh spent; then, heartless, laid
His limbs beneath an oak's embowering shade:
Bent, with the morrow's early dawn, once more
The forest's devious mazes to explore.

'Rous'd by the lark, he strives to measure back
His homeward way; but, weetless of the track,
Still by the same o'er-ruling spell misled,
Worse than afore the gentle valet sped.
'Twas eve; when from afar was heard the roar
Of hollow billows, bursting on the shore;
And from those wilds forth issuing on the strand,
He view'd a bark fast anchor'd by the land.
Gay was the hull, and seemly to behold;
The flag was sendal, purfled o'er with gold.

'Scarce might he climb the deck, with toil foredone,
But in the shallop living wight was none.
While long and sore he mus'd, a gentle gale
Blew, rustling from the shore, and swell'd the sail.
Self-steer'd, o'er sparkling waves the vessel flew;
The shore, receding, lessen'd from his view.'

After some melancholy thoughts on the awkward situation in which he is placed, our hero goes to sleep; but, 'waked by the noontide sun,' he finds himself in a spacious port, by the side of which stands a castle, of marvellous extent and beauty. It is well described in the following lines.

'Fast by the margin of the tumbling flood,
Crown'd with embattled towers, a castle stood.
The marble walls a chequer'd field display'd,
With stones of many-colour'd hues inlaid.
With that ('twas wrought of fayery) so dight,
The workmanship did pass the substance bright.
Flank'd with protecting towers, a league of ground
The far extending girt encompass'd round.
Within, trim garden, mead, and fruitful vale,
In gay confusion lay, and passing tale——
Fit ornaments to grace a rich domain;
Huge garners to bestow the golden grain;
Tall mills, with crystal streams encircled round,
And villages, with rustic plenty crown'd.
These, fading in the distance, woods were seen,
With gaily glittering spires, and battlements between.

'Beneath the porch, in rich mosaic, blaze
The sun, and silver lamp that drinks his rays.
Here stood the symbol'd elements pourtray'd,
And nature all her secret springs display'd.

Here

Here too was seen whate'er of earlier age,
Or later time, had grac'd the historic page;
And storied loves of knights and courtly dames,
Pageants and triumphs, tournaments and games.'

We have then an enumeration of some of these romantic stories, represented on the walls. Moses and the children of Israel (for they too make a figure in these tales), Tristrem and Guenever, and Sir Lancelot, and Arthur. This description is not in the original romance; but strikes us as a very elegant imitation of similar episodes in Virgil, Ariosto and other poets.

These wonders duly surveyed, Partenopex enters a hall, where an excellent repast is set out. What surprizes him, however, is, that he sees neither waiter, nor musician, nor priest. The first, however, could the better be dispensed with, as every thing was, to use a vulgar phrase, in apple-pye order; and a hungry man, we may imagine, could in those days dine without music, and even without hearing grace. While he was pausing at this exhibition, an invisible harp is touched, and a song is sung, which, though not very lively, might, if he listened to it, seem to express some consolatory hints. This ended, he begins to think of making free with the banquet; when, anticipating his wishes, the good-natured meats come to him in turn, of their own accord; and a cup of gold fills itself with the best of wine, which, in spite of his frequent attacks, is never below the brim.

Young as Partenopex was, he could not well help suspecting that all this was out of the usual course of things; and this surmise was not lessened, when a party of wax candles walked before him into a bed-chamber, or, in Mr Rose's language, *medii ævi*, a bower;

——' where stood a bed,
With milk-white furs of Alexandria spread:
Beneath, a richly broider'd vallance hung;
The pillows were of silk; o'er all was flung
A rare-wrought coverlet of phœnix plumes,
Which breath'd, as warm with life, its rich perfumes.
Here the quaint elves the wondering child undrest,
And on the snow-white ermine laid to rest.'

Before he can fall asleep, he hears 'a soft foot-fall,' and perceives that some one is coming into the very place of his repose. The predicament is certainly become embarrassing: he is plainly an intruder, though without his own fault; and who can guess the real owner of his bed?

'Melior in sooth it was, the sovereign fay,
The wardress of that keep and garden gay.
She on the bed her dainty limbs down-laid,
Then started'——

Perhaps

Perhaps our readers have gone before us in the progress of this story. Melior, the fairy, had secretly loved Partenopex; had contrived, by magic sleight, that he should be conveyed to her castle; and prepared the banquet for his regale. Thus far her sprites had obeyed her will exactly; but whether it was that *fées de chambre*, like their types on earth, are sometimes impertinent enough to guess more of their mistress's intentions than is communicated, or from whatever other cause suspicious persons may conjecture, these 'heedless elves' had made a strange mistake, and ushered Partenopex into the very bed of the young queen. What an unlucky adventure! An *eclaircissement* of course ensues; but the circumstances are critical—

'Lordings, the rest is better guess'd than told.'

Told, however, it was, not to lordings only, but to ladies, who, in those matter-of-fact times, were not at all disposed to take such subjects upon conjecture. In Le Grand's translation of the romance, we find a parley between Partenopex and the lady, somewhat resembling, except in tediousness, Crebillon's dialogue of La Nuit and Le Moment. We should laud more highly Mr Rose's sense of propriety in passing over these details, had he not invoked the aid of Mr Smirke's pencil in a print, which, we must own, might be expected to call the eyes of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, were we not aware that those magnanimous friends of virtue confine their inquisition to wooden cuts, and their preventions to the poor.

Though blest in the possession of Melior, the heir of Blois found something wanting; and was naturally enough disappointed that every sense was gratified, save that of sight. The invisible musicians, the moving tapers, the self-replenished goblet, might pass; but he had an irresistible curiosity about the face of his bride. In this, however, he could not be gratified. She informs him of her history; that she is queen of the country, but may not marry any but a knight: a beardless boy would be scorned by her vassals.

Content, for a while, with this plea, Partenopex lived right merrily with his Melior; who carefully provided him with hounds and hawks, the only visible company he was permitted to keep; till, growing weary of this pastime, he began to hanker after former friends in his own country. The fairy *(quis fallere possit amantem?)* perceived the alteration of his mind; and, more generous than Calypso, trusted him on board the magic sloop, which was in a few hours safely moored in the Loire. Here he found a mother, who, half knowing, half ignorant of his secret, concluded that he was enthralled to some amorous demon. If any should think little better of Melior, we give them to know, that

that hers was *magia alba*, an innocent art, which by no means hurt her interest with the most fastidious saint in Paradise. Appearances, indeed, were against her; and we cannot much blame the Countess of Blois for setting up a flesh and blood rival in the person of her niece. This young lady, however, had a spice of the magician about her also; and trusted not only to her beauty, but to a certain enchanted brewing, which had a surprizing effect upon Partenopex. His faithful fay was forgotten. Indeed his cousin came off indifferently with her stratagem; for, though Mr Rose glosses it over, he had certainly carried his infidelity *au comble*, when she unluckily mentioned, in contempt, the name of Melior. At once the charm was broken: he burst from her arms, and never slackened his speed, till, on the banks of the Loire, he found his fairy sloop, which darted with him back to the invisible queen.

She, who had certainly no right to play the prude, easily forgave his infidelity; and another period of love and hunting ensues, till he once more longs to visit his mother. This absence ends worse than the first. With the help of a bishop, the dowager persuades him that he cannot, in justice to his soul, live any longer with a female whose face he has not seen. He returns to Melior; and, the very first night, raises the lamp to behold her countenance. It was a masterpiece of beauty: but he, alas! had little leisure to gaze upon it; for her bosom was suddenly heaved with convulsions, and in a moment, she seemed to lye dead before his eyes. Her awakening from this trance brought him no comfort;—she bitterly reproached his perfidy, and explained secrets which were as yet unknown. Melior was the empress of Constantinople, early schooled by her father in the arts of magic. But, so imperfect is *la féerie*, that though she could build a castle, and direct a magic ship, she could not prevent, after this unseasonable discovery of her person, the entrance of knights and damsels innumerable, who would view a stranger in her pseudo-virgin bed. 'Sore sobb'd the boy;' but the day came on, and, as the fay prophesied, in came the whole bevy of Constantinopolitan courtiers! They turn their eyes with scorn on Partenopex, who is expelled disdainfully from the palace; and, like a dismissed lacquey, finds his old hunting clothes ready for him, instead of the gorgeous raiment in which Melior had bedizened his person. The women, however, all look on him with pity, and half envy their frail sovereign; but Uraque alone, the empress's sister, leads him through a malignant crowd to the ship, which, as before, is in its duty, and lands him safely in his native country.

It was a melancholy life that poor Partenopex led in this exile from

from all that he loved. His mother, we may be sure, met with no good words from him; and indeed he had no resource left but dying. But *le moyen d'y parvenir!* Bullets there yet were none; hanging was an ignominious, and drowning an obscure death. He bethought himself, accordingly, of repairing to the forest of Ardennes, which in those times was remarkably full of lions and tigers. In the middle of this woody solitude, one of the latter breed appeared. Nothing could be more opportune: but, as the fairies would have it,

'The sullen beast, with half averted eye,
Glar'd fiercely on the child, and pass'd him by.'

An idea now struck Partenopex, that his horse had terrified the monster, and prevented the desirable consummation of his personal deglutition. He dismounts, and sits down in expectation of the tiger: but, surprizing to say, it leaps instantly upon the horse, which darts away, having thrown off its load, into the forest. It chanced, that a lady travelling that way, saw this horse without a rider, and was induced by humanity to seek for, and succour Partenopex. Who was that courteous fair one?—who, but the faithful Uraque, who, half for her sister, and half for herself, nursed the penitent lover to his recovery of health, though not of happiness.

Melior was still inexorable, spite of all Uraque's endeavours to palliate the crime of Partenopex; when her barons, impatient of a female reign, resolve that she shall wed, perforce, the conqueror in a grand tournament. Partenopex, we may guess, found his way thither; and, concealed in his armour, received from Melior's hand the *accolade* of chivalry. The preparations for this tournay are described in spirited language by Mr Rose.

'The sun had clombe the sky, and drunk the dew,
When merrily to field the bugles blew;
And trooping fast from camp or castle round,
(So swarm the mustering gnats with drowsy sound),
Rode paladins and dukes of princely mien,
And kings, whose tissued housings fir'd the green;
With bucklers wrought about with bone of Ind,
And banderols that rattled in the wind.

'What knights of worship came were long to tell,
Grecian or Gaul, baptiz'd or infidel.
Yet may I briefly touch their steeds of price,
And banners gay with many a rich device;
How some the mace, and some the faulchion whirl,
Their reins encrusted o'er with shell and pearl;
How music, various as the weeds they wore,
Blew, loud and long, the jolly troops before;
How strove the trumpet with the clarion's song,

Sackbut

Sackbut with fife, the cymbal with the gong;—
Earth shook, and roll'd the rattling sounds along.

'When, on a sudden, ceas'd the din of war,
And breath'd a softer symphony from far.
Wide flew the castle gates, and pour'd amain
Gay palfrey'd dames and damsels o'er the plain;
In sendal was the shining band array'd,
And at their head the merry minstrels play'd.
Foremost their empress rode, upon a steed
Of Araby, bedeck'd with gorgeous weed.
He, pacing in his pride, so lightly trod,
His nimble hoofs did scantly print the sod.
Held by a jesse of silk and silver twist,
A tarcelin sate perk'd upon her fist.
Or were it skill, or rather careless hap,
Upon her head she wore nor hood nor cap,
To shrowd her crisped locks; but only round
Her brows, a golden coronet was bound;
So that, all unconfin'd, her yellow hair
Stream'd with the wind, and wanton'd here and there.'

Partenopex was among the first in the lists,—yet not quite the first; for, after some had waved their claim, there still remained a certain Soldan, of stout limbs, and terrible in the way of fighting. Magic set aside, one cannot help thinking he would have had some chance in fair combat against the young Count of Blois: but a knight, named Sir Coursol, suggested, with much gallantry, that, as a lady was in the case, it would be fair to give beauty, as well as prowess, some share in the success; and proposed a stripping-match between the two worthies. All assented to this most reasonable scheme; and each, laying aside his arms, presents himself *en deshabille* to the empress's inspection. Independently of prejudice, she would naturally prefer Partenopex to a grim Saracen: and the poem concludes with their legal union.

There is a good deal of interest in this poem, so far as it arises from frequent change of situation; but not much of that which depends upon character. We think it executed with great taste and spirit, as the extracts which we have given will exemplify. Others might be found, at least equally good; but we have no room for their insertion. The leading blemish of this poem, is an ill judged affectation of old language. Some mixture of obsolete words is sanctioned by Aristotle and Cicero; and, to come more home, gives a poetical cast to the language of Dryden, in his Fables; and to that of some later writers. Its effect, however, has chiefly depended upon their rare introduction, and upon their expressiveness in sound or sense. But Mr Rose's diction has no merit of this kind; his words are neither peculiarly appropriate, nor dignified; they

they are simply old; *priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis.* Indeed they have no appearance of having suggested themselves naturally to the author's mind; they want that primary excellence of forcible expression, the intimate union of thought and language, which can never exist, where a man translates his first words into a foreign dialect. It is very possible to think in Latin, or any other tongue which the writer knows thoroughly; but we can hardly conceive that a motley dialect of Chaucer, Spenser, and other old ballads, grafted on a modern versification, could be familiar to any one's understanding. In a man of Mr Rose's taste and genius, this perverse deviation is quite unaccountable: he loses a great deal in the popularity of his poem, and can gain nothing but that which is poor praise, the credit of knowing a few terms out of a glossary. Every page would furnish proofs of this charge. The term *child*, which is continually applied to Partenopex, must deceive most readers. *Child*, is certainly used in some ballads as an appellation of dignity; but it never occurs in Chaucer; and rarely, not more than about four times, in Spenser. There is no beauty in the term which justifies its constant recurrence: from the age of Partenopex, many would think it was meant in its obvious sense. *Valet*, p. 6. is exceptionable on the same account.—*Certes, I cast not here to tell*, p. 16.—*Wise of rede* and *stiff in stowre*, p. 18.—*Grace his speech with goodliest garniture*, p. 19. This is strange language, surely; and what shall we say of the following couplet?—

> 'A parlous wit she had, and could of lore,
> And eke of ancient tales, a countless store.'

Parlous is not English of any age; it is a corruption of *perilous*; or, as we should say in a more modern vulgarism, *terrible*. *Could* will perplex ninety-nine readers out of a hundred: the last will guess that it is the Anglo-Saxon word for *knew*. It should, however, have been spelt, *coud*; for, though it would be gross pedantry to spell the common auxiliary verb in that way, yet, if we are to take the old sense, we should have the old orthography likewise. *Sightless crew*, does not mean invisible, as the author wishes it to do, but *blind*. In p. 73. *Horizon* is turned into a dactyl. Of this verbal uncouthness, occasioned by an excessive use of obsolete language, there is a vast deal throughout the poem; and perhaps there is here and there some want of facility, and some flatness of diction, independent of that cause. But it is a work of great elegance; and, at least, equal to the *Fabliaux* translated by the late Mr Way; which indeed are liable to the same objection which we have made to Mr Rose's diction.

No objection can, however, be made, and much praise must be given to the Notes upon this poem; they are lively without pertness,

ness, and show a very judicious use of extensive knowledge in the history and customs, as well as romantic works, of the middle ages. We would especially recommend that, in which he compares the leading circumstance of his story, the separation of the lovers in consequence of Partenopex's disobedience, with several tales of romance, tracing it to Apuleius, and, finally, to a much more antient and venerable source. Those who have read the beautiful fable of Cupid and Psyche in the author last named, will already, perhaps, have recognized its resemblance to this French story; a resemblance much too close to be accidental; and which proves that Apuleius, either directly or indirectly, furnished materials for these fictions. As the oriental tales, such as that of the three Calendars, have only a general similarity, while the very circumstances in that of Cupid and Psyche are copied, we make no question that the Latin was the immediate source of our story. After a minute collation of these, Mr Rose proceeds.

'The allegory veiled in the Latin fable, which seems, however, to be of oriental extraction, may afford a key to the various stories which I have in this place assembled. I shall, therefore, first give the observations of Bryant on this subject, and afterwards venture some suggestions which have sprung from a consideration of the tale in Apuleius, as well as a collation of the other stories to which it seems to have any striking degree of affinity. 'The most pleasing emblem among the Egyptians, was exhibited under the character of Psuche, ψυχη. This was, originally, no other than the Aurelia or Butterfly; but, in after times, was represented as a lovely female child, with the beautiful wings of that insect. The Aurelia, after its first stage as an *eruca*, or worm, lies, for a season, in a manner dead, and is enclosed in a sort of coffin. In this state of darkness it remains all the winter; but at the return of spring, it bursts its bonds, and comes out with new life, and in the most beautiful attire. The Egyptians thought this a very proper picture of the soul of man, and of the immortality to which it aspired. But they made it more particularly an emblem of Osiris, who, having been confined in an ark or coffin, and in a state of death, at last quitted his prison, and enjoyed a renewal of life. This circumstance of the second birth is continually described under the character of Psuche; and, as the whole was owing to divine love, of which Eros was an emblem, we find this person often introduced as a concomitant of Psuche. They are generally described as accidentally meeting and enjoying a pleasing interview, which is attended with embraces and salutes, and every mark of reconciliation and favour.' (*Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol.* II. *p.* 388.)

'Such are the observations of a writer, to whom few will deny the praise of learning and ingenuity, set off by the graces of a style at once simple and elegant. But it does not seem to require much learning, or great ingenuity, to develop more of secret meaning in the

the story of which he treats, than what he has suggested; unless any conjecture of mine, on this point, may be considered as anticipated in the vague allusion cloaked in the preceding paragraph of this solution.

'The fable of Apuleius, then, appears to me to contain also the story of the temptation of man, his transgression, fall, repentance, death, and subsequent reception into the favour of the Godhead; all, indeed, somewhat discoloured by poetic fiction. Psyche is admitted to a union with Eros or Cupid; but prohibited from attempting to see him. She is induced, by the false suggestions of others, to infringe the command. The loss of the fellowship of the Godhead is the first penalty of her crime. She humbles herself, and repents; suffers much misery, and is forced to descend to the shades below; but is at length restored to the love of Cupid, and gifted with immortality. Is not every leading trait in the divine relation before referred to, figured in this beautiful allegory? Compare, again, this part of sacred history with the story in the *Persian Tales;* we shall find a prohibition of a similar nature, a similar sort of transgression, punishment, penitence, and final reconciliation. We shall also see, with the occasional exception of the last incident, the same striking points of resemblance in the other stories, of which I have before given an analysis.'

In a very good note on the fairies, p. 47, we find an inference drawn from the resemblance of their name to that of the Persian *Peris*, '*the Persian letter P being, in the Arabic, changed into F.*' Without knowing how this may be, we will venture to assert, that this etymon is quite fallacious. From the Italian *fata* is derived the French *fée*, and the English *fay;* from *fée* is formed the word *féerie*, which we have made *faëry*, signifying things belonging to, or connecting with *fays;* as, the land of faëry, the queen of faëry. By degrees this noun of quality was corrupted into a noun personal; and fays were, improperly, termed fairies. As we have thus accounted for the letter R, which forms the chief link between *Peris* and *Fairies*, we suppose it will be admitted that the derivation falls to the ground. There is nothing so deceitful as etymology: if a similarity of names and attributes were conclusive, we might bring our Devils themselves from the *Dives* of the East. But Mr Rose's proofs of the Oriental origin of fairyism are more decisive than likeness of name, and confirm the opinion we have stated above, as to the fountain whence most romantic fictions have flowed; not so much, we guess, through the Crusaders, though they certainly contributed their share, but, in a greater degree, by means of that idle and lying horde of pilgrims and palmers, whom curiosity and restlessness, more than devotion, drew in thousands to the Holy Land. Perhaps, too, the Jews were somewhat concerned in this communication of fables between the East and West.

The

The Red King, subjoined to Partenopex, might remind a reader of the Cloud-King, Elf-King, and other *roitelets*, who have been set over the government of goblins by Mr Lewis. It relates, however, to no less substantial a person than William Rufus, and his death by the arrow of Sir Walter Tyrrel. Mr Rose has made use of a legend in Matthew Paris, wherein a certain monk dreams that the king entered a church, and gnawed the flesh from the crucifix. This is as little sublime as it is elegant, and not susceptible of a good poetical dress. But the greater part of the poem or ballad, we know not which to say, is very spirited. We quote the introductory stanzas as a specimen.

'The Red King lies in Malwood-Keep;
To drive the deer o'er lawn and steep,
He's bown'd him with the morn.
His steeds are swift, his hounds are good;
The like, in covert or high wood,
Were never cheer'd with horn.

'And he hath hawks all fowl to take,
By field, by forest, or by lake:
Right royal is his geer.
Among his merry-men is not
A simple groom, but by the slot
Can track the stricken deer.

'But hound and brach are kennell'd all,
His merry-men are fast in hall,
His hawks are on the perch:
For they have flown at high and low;
And his good dogs have chas'd a doe
From Knowl to Brockhurst church.

'Red William's bow'r was closely barr'd,
His knights without kept watch and ward,
All clad in hunter's green:
The horn about their necks was hung,
And at their sides the quiver swung,
With store of arrows keen.

'In baudricks of the grey wolf's hide,
Their faulchions strait and short were tied,
And mantles gay they wore;
Sharp knives were in their girdles stuck,
Hafted with antler of the buck,
Or tusk of Dennay boar.

'The watchman on the castle top
Almost might hear an acorn drop,
It was so calm and still;
Might hear the stags in Hocknell groan,

And catch, by fits, the distant moan
Of Kingsgarn's little rill.

'Save when the rustling birches play'd,
In shifting hues of light and shade,
By some chance zephyr swept;
Whiles riding over Lady-Cross,
On waste and woodland, moor and moss,
The silvery moon-shine slept.'

Among the notes on the Red King, is one in proof of the famous depopulation of the New Forest by William the Conqueror; which Voltaire, in his random scepticism, has pretended to ridicule. Two successive surveys, however, of the lands in question, before and after this afforestation, corroborate the testimony of historians by the diminished value they record. These are preserved in Doomsday Book.

'Before the survey of the Conqueror, these manors, &c. were 'estimated at 198½ hides, 56 yard lands, 8 acres, 271 pounds, '2218 shillings. In the second census, they are represented as 'consisting of 59 hides, 53½ yard lands, 6½ acres. The value is 'rated at 85 pounds, 964 shillings. The amount of the loss occa-'sioned by the afforestation, therefore, will be 139½ hides, 2½ yard 'lands, 1½ acres, 186 pounds, 1254 shillings.' p. 202.

It is not meant to assert, as Voltaire imagines, that an actual forest was created by William; but that a large tract of woody country was converted by him into a royal chase, and consequently depopulated, either by the oppressiveness of the forest laws, or by some direct act of violence. The latter opinion is espoused by Mr Rose, and seems most consonant to the voice of history, and the character of William. He endeavours to corroborate these proofs by local evidence; but, except in the name of *castle*, which some uninhabited spots retain, we think he has made but little of these researches. Indeed, he mentions himself a fact, though slightly, that the Anglo-Saxon buildings were almost entirely of wood; which, while it fully accounts for the non-appearance of ruins, seems to have rendered unnecessary all attempts to discover them.

We may take this opportunity to lay before the public a curious passage, which renders it probable, that, in spite of all our histories, Sir Walter Tyrrel was not the unfortunate slayer of William Rufus. It is found in the life of Louis le Gros, by his minister, the famous Abbot Suger.

'*Imponebatur a quibusdam cuidam nobilissimo viro Galterio Tirello, 'quod eum sagittâ perfoderet. Quem cum nec timeret, nec speraret, 'jurejurando sæpius audivimus, et quasi sacrosanctum asserere quod eâ 'die nec in eam partem silvæ, in quâ Rex venebatur, venerit, nec eum 'in silvâ omnino viderit.*'

ART.

ART. IX. *Code de la Conscription, ou Recueil Chronologique des Lois et des Arrêtes du Gouvernement, des Décrets Imperiaux relatives à la Levée des Conscrits, à leur remplacement, aux dispenses de service, &c. depuis l'an VI. jusques et compris l'an XIV. Avec Tables, &c.* 8vo. pp. 270. Paris, 1806.

WE hate war, and we detest despotism; and wish earnestly that there were no occasion to study the organization of the one, or the resources of the other. But when war is inevitable, and despotism overbearing,—and when both together are darkening the whole horizon of the civilized world, it becomes, of all things, the most necessary to inquire, how they have been united, and in what manner their combination has contributed to their success. It is now our indispensable duty, we think, to make ourselves acquainted with the structure of that military establishment which has triumphed so fatally over every other to which it has yet been opposed,—to ascertain how far its excellences may be copied among a free people,—and to determine to what extent its efficacy or permanence may be rendered precarious by the oppressions which it entails on those who are subject to it.

The perusal of the work before us, which has been recently transmitted from France, with a full commentary of facts by a diligent and judicious observer, has enabled us to lay before our readers some materials for such an inquiry; and to direct the attention of our countrymen to the internal organization of a power, which must be understood before it can be resisted; and with which we can neither be at peace nor at war in safety, till we comprehend, in some measure, the nature of the foundations on which it rests. The book is entitled '*Code de la Conscription,*' and contains a chronological series of laws enacted since the year 1798, on the subject of the Military Conscription of France. It should be remarked, that the new French jurisprudence has been promulgated under the various titles of the Civil, Rural, Commercial, and Criminal *Codes*—and this, the 'Code de la Conscription;' which, no doubt, is, of the whole *Napoleon Corpus Juris*, most dear to the modern Justinian, and most odious to his 'great and good subjects.'*

* This new jurisprudence, in the highest degree defective in theory, and vexatious in practice, is created upon a principle which will be found to actuate most of their internal regulations,—that in a new government every thing should be *new*. 'Whoever,' says Machiavel,

Tacitus somewhere observes of Tiberius, that his speeches to the senate, by the 'involutions' of the style, at once betrayed the character of their author; and seemed to shadow out the picture of his cautious, dark, and crooked policy. This volume, consisting of two hundred and seventy close printed pages, obscure and even unintelligible in all its clauses of lenity, and clear only in its provisions of rigour, might suggest a similar observation, and be traced to the ruminations of an ambitious and sanguinary despotism. In fact, the extreme difficulty which we (with no vulgar helps) have experienced in collecting the scope and import of this extraordinary volume, convinces us that, to the great majority of Frenchmen, the whole must be as incomprehensible as the mysteries of Eleusis, or the traditions of the Cabala. There is an oracle at hand, indeed, which will readily expound one half of the mystery. The Military Tribunals will soon make them understand the penalties annexed to disobedience; but they have, and can have no instruction as to their immunities. For it is a remarkable and most instructive fact, that notwithstanding the voluminous annotations daily issuing from the French press on *every other* branch of the Imperial jurisprudence, no one has yet been bold enough to publish a single word to elucidate the text, or blazon the moderation of the *Code de la Conscription.*

It is impossible even to glance at this volume, without being struck with the extreme anxiety which these statutes betray, to enforce conformity, both in the executioner and the victim. The enumeration of cases is so complete as to preclude the possibility of evasion. The public functionaries have their respective provinces most accurately marked out; and are furnished with distinct *formulæ* for every act of office. The severest and most unrelenting punishment is inflicted upon all who, from negligence, or corruption, or pity, give countenance to the slightest relaxation. The diseases which give right to exemption are detailed with a jealous and disgusting minuteness. Precautions are multiplied without number to secure the persons of the conscripts; and, while they are decorated with the title of '*Defenseurs de la Patrie*,' the uniform tenor of these laws, and the tone of bitter

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Machiavel, 'makes himself Lord of a state, (especially if he suspect his ability to keep it), must, as the best course, make every thing as *new* as himself;—alter the magistracy, create new titles, confer new authorities, *uncharter* old corporations, advance the poor, impoverish the rich;—that what is said of *David* may be said of him, "*He filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he sent empty away.*" Discorsi, lib. 1. c. 26.

bitter reproof which pervades them, afford conclusive evidence of a general aversion for the trade of war; and serve to convince us, that these Achilleses are not easily roused to arms, whatever enthusiasm they may afterwards display in the field.* Some few provisions are introduced on the subject of voluntary enlistments; but, *as no bounty is allowed*, it is evident that they do not enter into the serious consideration of the government. The old compromise between the military exigencies and civil constitution of the state,—between the effeminacy of the rich and the wants of the poor,—between the ambition of the sovereign and the rights of the subject, is rejected with disdain by the Imperial republic; and the student is dragged relentlessly from his closet, and the peasant from his hiding-place, by an indiscriminating and unqualified coercion. But habit soon renders submission, if not cheerful, at least easy; rapine furnishes sources of munificence and conciliation; courage becomes a virtue of necessity; strength is acquired by discipline; military ardour kindles with competition; and experience too fatally proves,

* Page 81 contains a proclamation, dated in the year 1800, of General *Le Febre*, commander of the 15th and 17th military divisions. It commences in this way.

'Aux Conscrits.

'Les proclamations, les invitations qui vous ont été faites pour 'vous, fairè rentrer dans le chemin de l'honneur, n'ont pas produit 'l'effet qu'on devoit en attendre.

'Vous avez été sourds et insensibles aux mesures paternelles du 'gouvernement à votre égard. Je vous préviens de sa part, que 'celles qu'il prendra à l'avenir seront terribles. Les conscrits qui 'ne seront pas rentré dans leur poste, à l'epoque qui va être pre-'scrite, seront punis *comme de laches* deserteurs, des voleurs des ef-'fets militaires, des ennemis de la patrie. La force publique les at-'teindra dans les lieux les plus cachés. Elle se fera un devoir d'ex-'pulser de la societé des hommes vils qui la deshonorent,' &c.

Le Febre is now Duke of Dantzig, and employed in the work of blood in Spain. The style of his proclamation reminds us of a letter addressed to the *Commune of Paris* in 1794, by one of his coadjutors, *General Laval*, who then commanded a body of French troops at Manheim, and *is now at the head of the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine*. 'Je commande devant Manheim. Nous 'continuons à ravager le rich pays de nos ennemis. Nous ne laissons 'que les yeux pour pleurer. Vive la republique! Nous sommes 'tous generaux sans-culottes de nom et d'effet. Nous t'adorons, 'ô Sainte Guillotine! que tu as fait de miracles; tu vaux mieux 'que cent mille hommes; ça va, ça ira! Vive la Montagne!' &c.

that, from such elements, armies may be compounded, alike formidable for discipline and valour.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a connected view of the law of the Conscription as it is now enforced, and to interweave with those statements such illustrations of the present state of the French empire, as may be necessary to develop the whole organization of conquest. No subject, at the present moment, can claim so terrible an importance. The levies of those Continental nations, which still preserve the forms of independence, are, it is said, to be moulded upon the same model; and the conscription is, undoubtedly, the *vis motrix* of that great engine to which France owes her aggrandizement, and on which she relies, for the future increase of her dominion. Her politicians exultingly apply to it the language of Vegetius concerning the Legion, that it seems rather an inspiration of divine wisdom, than the offspring of human invention. The plan of universal conquest, imputed originally to Louvois, and with more truth, perhaps, ascribed by Mr Burke to the Directory, is now, not merely digested into a regular system, but may actually be said to be in a course of execution; and to be proceeding with a steadiness and success, which must strike alarm into the most confident and unthinking. * The world, in the opinion of all Frenchmen, is to be again subdued by the discipline and the arts of Rome. *Folard's Polybius, Machiavel on Livy, and Montesquieu on the Grandeur et Declination*, are more than ever 'the manuals' from which they draw their lessons of perseverance and cunning. The reading classes of France have always been fond of historical research. Their republic made them passionate admirers, and *enlightened imitators* of antiquity; and their government, availing itself of this predilection for the victorious commonwealths of Greece and Rome, † soon taught them to overlook altogether individual interests, and tastes, and enjoyments, both in their foreign politics, and in the details of their internal economy. They admit

* Αλλὰ λιαν μεγα πῆμα διιλεγθὶς αισχρωνλις
Δειδιμεν ενδοιη δὲ σκωπτειμεν ἡ απολεσθαι.

† 'Considering what is good,' says Machiavel, 'I am of opinion, that the same fortune and prosperity may be expected by any prince or state which exercises the same arts and industry as the Romans have done before them.'—"The way of enlarging their empire was peculiar to the Romans; and certainly no better is to be found. Nobody thinks of restoring the old discipline of the Romans. None of our people will believe that it is possible to do now what was anciently done. They deceive themselves; and commonwealths, which have an ambition of extending their empire, must do it by the ways of the Romans. We have their example before our eyes, and may follow it, if we please," &c. (*Discorsi, Lib.* 2. *c.* 1, 4, &c.)

admit 'no balanced advantages, or diverging claims.' All the capacities, and energies, and habitudes of private life, are unrelentingly wrested to the production of force, for the subjugation of the globe, or, as coordinate with this object, for the aggrandizement of the reigning family. The changes of form in their government have occasioned no remission in this pursuit. It has always been spoken of among them with confidence and zeal. Events have recently brought it more into notice; and nothing now remains but to achieve the ultimate object, '*la grande pensée*,' as it is emphatically styled in the coteries of Paris. ‡

That our readers may the better understand our abstract of the laws on the Conscription, it is proper to premise, that France is divided into about 30 military governments, subject to a general of division and his staff, to which commissaries are attached as executive officers. The civil division consists of 122 departments; 24 of which have been acquired since the overthrow of the monarchy, exclusive of Tuscany, not included in any part of this statement. The departments are divided into districts or *arrondissements*, from 3 to 5 in number; the *arrondissements* into cantons, and the cantons into municipalities, amounting to about 55,000. Each department is governed by a prefect and his council, composed of a commissary of police, a mayor, and certain inspectors, denominated *counsellors of prefecture*. The district or *arrondissement*, by a subprefect and his council, of a similar formation.

‡ For the opinions of the CIVIL politicians of France, on the subject of Universal Monarchy, we refer the reader to Rousseau (*Projet de paix perpetuelle*), to Montesquieu (*Esprit des lois, Liv.* 9. *c.* 7.), and to Mably (*Observations sur les Romains, Liv.* 1. *P.* 2.) With their doctrines, he should compare the higher authority of a MILITARY statesman, *Folard*, one of the most amusing and instructive commentators on the Politics of Antiquity. For the edification of those who would wish to know what feeling, on this subject, has uniformly prevailed in the French metropolis, we shall extract a few passages from Folard's Observations on Polybius. 'On peut voir par tout ceque nous avons avancé sur la politique des Romains, que l'idée de la monarchie universelle n'est pas une illusion. Ils se virent les maitres du monde en très peu de temps, c'est à dire, dès qu'ils penserent à se rendre puissans sur mer; car, sans cela, toute leur politique ne leur eût servi de rien. Je ne sais même s'ils eussent pu se maintenir sur terre. *Que ceci nous serve d'un pensez-y-bien.* Cette politique est très digne de nos eloges; et d'être imitée par des princes ambitieux et guerriers, qui se fournissent d'une milice bien entretenue et bien disciplinée. On va loin avec cela. J'admire les Romains en-tout; car ce crime, dont on les accuse, de s'être frayés un chemin à la monarchie

mation The cantons and municipalities are under the supervision of an administration, composed of the civil authorities, with a president at their head. A mayor, a commissary of police, and two officers of the government, styled *adjuncts*, are allotted to every division having a population above 5000 souls. * These several authorities are in strict subordination to each other, and at the controul of the prefects and subprefects; who, themselves, are charged with a weighty and inflexible responsibility as to the military levies.

The Conscription was first published in the form of a general law by the Council of Antients in the year 1798, and has since undergone some slight modifications. † The *directorial plan* is attributed to Carnot, who, in the revolutionary language, is said 'to have organized victory in the French armies.' Its author, who was enthusiastically devoted to the forms of antiquity, and still preserves, within the rays of the imperial purple, all the simplicity of antient manners, found his model in the constitution of the Roman *Republic*, which made every citizen a soldier before the age of forty-six,—in their *annual* levies, which admitted of no exception,—and in the peremptory orders issued by their consuls to the magistrates of Italy, specifying the number of troops required, and the place of assemblage.

By the law of the Directory, all Frenchmen are pronounced soldiers; and when the *country is declared in danger*, are liable to be summoned to its defence. In any other conjuncture, '*the wants of the army are relieved by the Conscription*;' and the requisite number of conscripts is determined by the Senate or Legislative Body, at the suggestion of the executive government. The law which limits the whole number, regulates, at the same time, the contingent of each department, proportionally to its population. Within eight days after publication, the *prefect* distributes this contingent among the districts, by the same rule; and the *subprefect*

narchie universelle par tant de guerres injustes, *peut fournir une très ample matiere d'éloge d'un prince qui entreprendra un semblable dessein avec les mêmes moyens et les mesures necessaires.* On accuse Louis XIV d'avoir aspiré à la monarchie universelle; *et moi je l'en loue.* Cela eût reussi infalliblement, s'il eût toujours eu à la tête de ses armées, *de ces hommes, qui semblent nés pour être ensemble la terreur et l'admiration de la terre.* Avec ce secours, il eût sans difficulté fait la conquête de toute l'Europe. Il me seroit très aisé de le prouver,' &c. (*Observ. T. 2. ch.* 18.)

* Peuchet, *Statistique de la France*, 1807.

† The '*Requisition*' which preceded this system, was of a character still more arbitrary. Mr Burke entitles it, 'A Sweeping Law of Unprecedented Despotism.'

subprefect among the cantons and municipalities. All Frenchmen *between the full age of twenty and twenty-five complete*, are liable to the conscription. They are each year thrown into five classes; the first of which, consists of those who have completed their twentieth year on the 1st Vendemaire, or 16th September preceding; the second of those who, at the same period, have terminated their twenty-first year, and so on, in the order of seniority. Thus, the conscript, who has attained the full age of twenty-five, remains liable, until the month and day just mentioned. The municipal administrations are bound to prepare lists framed from the registers of births, and from common notoriety, which particularize the name, domicile, stature, &c. of all the individuals subject to the conscription, within their jurisdiction. The same individuals are also bound to enrol themselves, with a similar specification, at the office of the municipality, as soon as the law is published. Both lists are then transmitted to the prefects, who are responsible for their accuracy, and who immediately consign them over to the minister of war.

Eight days are allotted to the preparation of the lists. The conscripts * are then assembled in each canton, and examined by the administration, or by a special commission, created *ad hoc* by the prefect. The merits of all pleas of exemption are scrutinized at these meetings. Such as plead infirmities, if able to attend, are examined on the spot; and if not, are visited at their dwellings by 'the inspectors' and health-officers. The latter, generally physicians in the army, are not selected until the moment of examination; and, to obviate collusion, must belong to a district different from that of the conscript. The final decision of all cases of exemption, is referred to a commission of higher resort, composed of the prefect, the general officers and commissaries of the department. When these claims are disposed of, lists are formed of those who are adjudged competent to serve, whether present or absent; and the subprefect then proceeds to the '*drawing*,' or designation by lot, of such as are to constitute the *quota* of the district. Tickets regularly numbered to the amount of the names on the list, are publicly deposited in an urn, and indiscriminately drawn out by the conscripts or their friends. The lot falls upon those who draw the numbers below the amount of the quota. The higher numbers drawn by the rest are annexed to their names, in order that they may be forthcoming in their order, should any casualty disable their predecessors. Absentees not presenting themselves

* Two brigades of *Gendarmerie* usually attend. This is a body of military having the same functions as our constables, and about 16,000 in number.—*Peuchet.*

selves within a month after the drawing, are declared *refractory*, proclaimed throughout the Empire, and pursued as deserters.

These are the conscripts of '*the active service.*' But besides these, the law requires *an equal number*, to form what is termed, in contradistinction, the conscription '*of the reserve.*' The members of the reserve are nominated, with the same formalities, to *march only in cases of emergency;* are regularly organized, and carefully disciplined, within their own department, from which they are not suffered to absent themselves. A third body is then created, of *supplemental conscripts*, equal in number to *one fourth* of the whole contingent, and destined to fill up the vacancies which may be occasioned before junction at head-quarters, by death, desertion, or other causes. If the supplement should not be adequate to this purpose, the reserve supplies its place; and at all events no deficiency is permitted, as each canton is accountable for its full assessment. No Frenchman under the age of thirty can travel through the empire, or hold any situation under government, or serve in any public office, unless he can produce a certificate, duly authenticated, attesting that he has discharged his liability to the conscription.

All the authorities are bound *in solidum*, and under the severest sanctions, to observe that the conscripts are assembled, reviewed and dismissed to their destination without delay. They are marched, *under an escort* of gendarmérie, *and in bodies strictly limited to the number of one hundred*, to various quarters or depôts throughout the empire, and there first supplied with arms and clothing. They are never permitted to exist in separate battalions, but are individually *(nominativement)* draughted into, or scattered through, distinct corps of the preexisting army, to which they are marched in exceedingly small detachments, and sometimes from an astonishing distance.

Dispensations are given by the higher military tribunal of the prefect; and are provisional or definitive, according to the nature of the disability pleaded. For all diseases pronounced cureable, the discharge is but temporary. The infirmities which tend to disqualify, are discriminated with the nicest care, and accompanied by copious scientific explanations. The minister of war reviews the decisions of this tribunal; and if a suspicion of partiality arise, orders the medical inquiry to be renewed. The party released pays an *indemnity* to the government, the amount of which is proportioned, by the prefect, to his taxes, or those of his parents. No exceptions were originally allowed to the law '*of active service;*' but at this moment, the eldest brother of an orphan family, the only son of a widow, or of a labourer above the age of seventy, or one who has a brother in the *active service*, may,

may, on soliciting the indulgence, be transferred to the reserve. The same privilege is accorded to those who have taken the order of subdeacon in the ecclesiastical seminaries. *Parents continue responsible for their absent children, until they can produce an official attestation of their death.* *

The Directory admitted of no substitution; but the severity of this principle is now relaxed in favour of such as are adjudged '*incapable of sustaining the fatigues of war*,' or, 'whose labours and studies *are deemed* more useful to the state than their military service.' Proxies are therefore received only *ad libitum*; not as a matter of right; and never without a special mandate from the Minister of War. The conscript furnishes a sum of about 5*l*. (100 francs) for the equipment of his substitute, who must be between the age of *twenty-five and forty, of the middle size at least, of a robust constitution, of a good character certified by his municipality, and himself beyond the reach of the conscription laws.* He bears the surname of his principal, in order that the latter may be known and compelled to march, should his proxy desert, or be lost from any other cause than death, or wounds received in battle *within the term of two years.*

All the enacting clauses of this system are fortified by heavy denunciations against public functionaries, *parents*, or others who contribute to defeat or retard its operation. Any health-officer or other functionary convicted of furnishing a false certificate of infirmity, &c. is subjected to *five years imprisonment in irons.*

All

* We find, on the subject of dispensation, two decrees which should be noted. One, p. 100, of the year ninety-nine, by which all workmen engaged in the manufacture of arms and of gunpowder, or employed in the national magazines of saltpetre, &c. are exempted; and another, p. 104, of the year 1802, enacting, that *congés*, equal in number to the one fourth of the whole body of soldiers and subalterns in the army, should be given to such as had served irreproachably during the whole war, or during five campaigns, as soon as they could be replaced by new recruits. The inspector charged with the distribution of these *congés*, is enjoined, however, to remind the soldiers how much they are in the wrong to abandon the *first of professions* (le premier *des etats*). In the year ninety-eight, the law was repealed which exempted married persons from the conscription. *Depere*, and with him Malthus, attributes the increased proportion of births in the country, anterior to that period, to premature marriages, *to avoid the military levies.* (Malthus, b. 2. c. 6.) '*Les mariages prematurés et multipliés par la crainte des loix militaires*,' are particularly noticed in the statistical reports of the prefects for the year eight.

All civil and military officers, even of the highest rank, convicted of favouring the escape, or concealing the retreat of a fugitive, are exposed to excessive fines. Conscripts detected in counterfeiting infirmities, or *mutilating themselves*, are placed '*at the disposition of the government*' for five years, to be employed in such public labours as may be judged most useful to the state. The absentees or *refractory* conscripts, whose apprehension is secured by the most minute and efficient precautions, besides undergoing the corporal punishment entailed on their offence, are amerced in a sum of fifteen hundred francs, equivalent, from the comparative value of money in the two countries, to about one hundred and twenty pounds Sterling. This sum, together with the expenses incurred in the pursuit, *is levied inexorably on the real property of the father or mother*, should the fugitive possess none in his own right. *

Nine

* It will not be impertinent to exemplify, here, the immoderate rigour exercised on the points now before us, by a few paragraphs taken at random from the journals of the country. The following is from *the Mercure de France* of August 1807. 'Jean Vidal senior, of the Commune of Orbon, in order to enfranchise his son from the conscription, had employed a false document, knowing it to be false. This document was the record of his birth, in which it was stated that he was born in 1734, although the real period of his birth was 1744. His object was, to be considered *as having attained the age of* 71, and therefore entitled to claim for his son the indulgence of the law. The Special Court of Criminal Justice has, by a decree of the 21st July, condemned this person *to eight years labour in irons, to be branded with a hot iron on the left shoulder, to an exposition of six hours, and to the expenses of the prosecution, and of* 400 *copies of the decree.*' The two following are from the '*Journal de L'Empire*' of August 2d and 7th. 'The Tribunal of Corrective Police *(Police Correctionelle)* of Paris, finished yesterday the trial of seven persons charged with extortion from conscripts,—" Escroquerie en matière de conscription." Tessiaire, a surgeon's apprentice, was accused of having *blown into the eyes of a multitude of conscripts*, a powder calculated to excite inflammation, and of having received from their friends, *for this service*, various sums between two and three thousand livres, *somewhat more than* 200*l.* from each. Six other persons were accused of making him known to different conscripts, and of sharing in his profits. While one of these, a goldsmith, called *Lugot*, the father of three children, took his place at the bar, *his wife was carried to the grave, having died of fright*, when she was told that her husband had been summon-

'ed

Nine garriſon towns are deſignated, throughout the empire, as *dépots* for the refractory conſcripts. They are lodged in the citadels, ſubjected to a moſt rigid diſcipline, and made to work in the arſenals, or on the roads, clad in a particular uniform, with their heads cloſely ſhaved. Five years conſtitute the term allotted to this confinement; but it is added, 'that they are to be gradually draughted into the army, as they give tokens of docility and reformation!' Every conſcript abſenting himſelf for twenty-four hours from his *dépot*, is puniſhed as a deſerter. A ſpecial council of war is aſſembled to decide upon caſes of deſertion. The penal ſanctions are, 1ſt, death; 2d, the puniſhment of the ball (*la peine du boulet*); and, 3d, public, or hard labour.

The nature of the 2d, the puniſhment of the ball, merits notice. An iron ball of 8 lib. weight, and faſtened to an iron chain of ſeven feet in length, is attached to the leg of the deſerter. He, in the firſt inſtance, hears his ſentence read, on his knees, and is condemned to hard labour during ten hours daily, and, in the interval of reſt, to be chained in ſolitary confinement. This ſentence is rigorouſly executed, and embittered by all the external marks of ignominy in dreſs and appearance. The duration of this puniſhment, which is ten years, is prolonged, and an additional ball fettered to the leg, in caſes of contumacy or ſerious diſobedience. We have remarked a curious proviſion connected with this double delinquency. The party is ſolemnly interdicted, under pain of two years impriſonment in irons, from fixing himſelf, after he is ſet at liberty, *within twenty leagues of the ſeat of Government!* The third claſs of puniſhment (*les travaux publics*), is exempt from the iron ball; and, in other reſpects, only differs from the preceding in the length of the term, which is but three years. A fine of 1500 francs is inſeparable from all caſes of deſertion.

Death

'ed to appear before the Tribunal to answer to a charge *connected* 'with the Conscription. This melancholy catastrophe induced the 'Tribunal to mitigate his punishment. The rest, and among them a 'woman of some respectability, suffered the utmost rigours of the 'law.' The second case is not a little singular. 'The Military 'Commission of Turin (department of the Po) decided, in the course 'of last July, a new case of delinquency with regard to the Con'scription. Two inhabitants of Turin were convicted by this Com'mission, of having *forestalled* (accaparé) a great number of sub'stitutes for the department, *by maintaining them at their own expense 'in houses appropriated to this object, and then selling them out at an 'advanced price* to the conscripts who wished to have proxies. This 'traffic, says the Moniteur, by which the substitute receives but a 'small sum, while the *broker* receives a very large one, must al'ways prove injurious to the lower classes.'

Death is inflicted on the deserter to the enemy, and on him who, in deserting from the punishment of the ball, *carries off his own arms or those of his comrades.* The punishment of the ball is adjudged to such as escape into the interior of the empire with their uniform, or with the effects of another; or from the public labours which are inflicted upon those who are guilty of simple desertion into the interior. In time of war, every officer or soldier, absenting himself for forty-eight hours from his corps, without permission, is reputed a deserter. The laws on the subject of desertion are read to the whole French army on the first Sunday of every month.

We have thus given a brief abstract of the law of the Conscription, collected from the code itself. We shall now proceed to state the nature and effects of its execution, as represented to us by an observer, who, with the best opportunities, has witnessed them, in almost every part of France, during the progress of three levies.

The grand characteristic of the present administration of France, is relentless inflexibility. A host of informers secures the fidelity of the executive officers. Cases of the most signal and barbarous rigour, of which we have already given a few examples, crowd all the daily gazettes of the empire, and even the journals of Paris, into which they are compulsively and awkwardly thrust, in order that the quickening impulse of fear may be propagated through the entire mass of servitude.* The columns now before us might nearly warrant the inference, that those tribunals which the weakness

* In the winter of 1807, a member of the congregation of St Sulpice, of the name of Fressinoux, undertook to deliver, every Sunday evening, in the church of St Sulpice, lectures on Christian morality (la morale Chretienne). His auditory was numerous, and consisted principally of young men, attracted by a well merited reputation for eloquence. After three discourses, he was summoned before the police, interrogated concerning his views, and informed, that he could not possibly continue, unless he consented to inculcate on his hearers *the sacred duty of obedience to the conscription.* The lecturer resisted, alleging that this topic was irreconcileably foreign to his subject, and with much difficulty was at length permitted to resume his labours, at the urgent intercession of Cardinal Maury, *almoner of the King of Westphalia*, once the undaunted advocate of the Bourbons, now the grateful pensionary and humble parasite of the Bonapartes! He and some of his old associates have to bear much from their new master; but console themselves with the good old maxim of Sosie, that

'Les coups de baton d'*un Dieu*
Font honneur à qui les endure.'

neſs and depravity of our nature have rendered indiſpenſable to all civilized communities, are, in France, excluſively occupied with one ſpecies of delinquency, happily unknown to the reſt of the world. They entitle it, ' *Escroquerie en matiere de conscription,*' or the extortion of money from perſons liable to ſervice, under fraudulent promiſes of procuring them an exemption. A ſtranger in this ' great nation ' is haunted by the ſpectre of the police; but the native is attended by another ' foul fiend,' ſtill more hideous, and threatening him with more degrading viſitations. We have it from good authority, that a traveller frequently meets, on the high roads, and particularly in the vicinity of the great cities, twenty or thirty of thoſe miſerable beings, denominated refractory conſcripts, guarded by a body of gendarmerie, *and coupled together with a rope attached to a horse's tail, as a badge of disgrace!* *

Our readers may have observed, in the details of this system, a semblance of tenderness towards persons whose situation is apt to rouse those indignant feelings—that *insurgent* consciousness of right, which undisguised oppression never fails to excite even among the most degraded of human beings. Hypocrisy is the defence of fear against just resentment; and may, therefore, be well entitled, not only the homage which vice offers to virtue, but the tribute which despotism pays to liberty. The provisions on the subject of the Reserve, to which we particularly allude, are altogether illusory. The ostensible purpose of its creation is to supply possible deficiencies, and to assist the armies in cases of great emergency. The emergency, however, has always been found to exist—' Tyrannorum enim preces, nosti, quam permixtæ necessitatibus;' and the reserve is uniformly compelled to march. Not only are all the conscripts of the current year thus swept away; but those of the preceding years, who have obtained a charter of exemption under the conditions prescribed by law, are also dragged into the field by a decree of the military chief of their department. We must not forget to mention another flagrant breach of law, if any enormity can be so called, which is committed, not only with impunity, but under the sanction of public authority. In the first tumults of the revolution, the parochial regis-

ters,

* We find in the Journal de l'Empire, under the Paris head of the 21st October 1807, a paragraph, in which it is stated, that a recent act of amnesty had brought back *to their colours two hundred and four* refractory conscripts, and *ninety-two* deserters of the department of *Orne;* of which department, the *whole contingent* does not amount to more than 692 in a levy of 60,000 men!

ters, at no period very accurately kept, were almost wholly neglected. As, therefore, no official document can be produced for youths between seventeen and twenty, the recruiting officers, within the two last years, have taken advantage of this circumstance to include in the conscription numbers whose appearance corroborated their assertion, that they were beyond the age, and whose remonstrances were rendered unavailing by their condition in life. The most formidable, however, of all the evils extraneous to the code we have analyzed, is a practice which has prevailed, for some years past, of anticipating *by law* the regular levies. The conscripts, as we know, of 1810, are already called out; and by this it must be understood, that those, who would then attain the age of twenty, are already made to serve in the armies. These, and other causes connected with the abuse of unlimited power, bring into the field a numerous population of boys, in appearance scarcely able to endure the accoutrements of a soldier, and who, in their preparatory exercises, are objects both of pity and amazement. 'Un des spectacles les plus extraordinaires de Paris,' said a distinguished personage of that capital to a stranger, 'c'est celui des jeunes conscrits, qui font leurs exercices dans les Champs Elisées. Les vainqueurs du monde ne sont que des enfans.'

For the great majority, even of the better classes of conscripts, it is almost impossible to obtain proxies. When the physical requisites are not wanting in the principal, the government, indeed, studiously discourages substitution. The acknowledged hardships, and indeterminate duration of the military service, tend, moreover, to enhance so enormously the price of the few who are found to possess all the requisite qualifications, that they fall exclusively to the share of the rich. More than 200*l.* is frequently given for a substitute—a sum which, according to the rates of living in France, is much more considerable than with us; and far beyond the means of multitudes, who, in that country, with the habits of refined society, maintain an exterior of tolerable ease. Of this class are the *amnestied* emigrants and old proprietaries, who enjoy, under the new dynasty, something of the abstract right, and but little of the benefits of *postliminium*; and who, in the bitterness of mortified pride, and the sadness of pining recollection, struggle to uphold a decent establishment with small fragments of their former estates. *

The

* From the period of the emission of assignats, in the year 1790, until 1801, the sale of national domains in France produced upwards of 100 millions Sterling. These domains were principally made up of the confiscated property of emigrants, and served to defray the public

The Revolution has, on the whole, had the effect of an Agrarian law: and the equalization of fortunes is, at this moment, among the moſt prominent veſtiges which the tempeſt has left behind, for the inſtruction of the world;—a conſequence over which, in obedience to the dictates of reaſon, we ſhould perhaps exult. But it is not eaſy to contemplate, without feelings of ſtrong ſympathy, the numbers of impoveriſhed families and decayed gentlemen, who, wreſtling with memory and deſtiny, under a perpetual recurrence of painful compariſons and hopeleſs wiſhes, exhibit, throughout France, ſtriking monuments of the inſtability of human affairs, and ſalutary examples to the privileged orders and corrupt governments of other countries.

To perſons of this deſcription, who hate and deſpiſe their government,—to the great body of profeſſional men, and of drooping merchants and manufacturers, who educate their children with care and tenderneſs, and who find no compenſation in the ſplendour of the imperial diadem, for the degradation of their own order, and the loſs of domeſtic comfort, the conſcription appears the maximum of human ſuffering,—the moſt odious of all wrongs, and the moſt vexatious of all injuſtice. The Lycées, or public ſchools, the ſeminaries of eccleſiaſtical noviciate, the univerſities of law and phyſic, are all ſubject to the viſits of the recruiting officer, and forced to ſurrender up their pupils, without exception of genius or taſte, at a period of life when the morals are in a ſtate of oſcillation,—when the character of the frame itſelf is ſcarcely determined, and the underſtanding but in the firſt ſtages of development. Parents are not only made to ſuffer the pains of a ſeparation under ſuch circumſtances, but are condemned to the inexpreſſible grief of ſeeing the principles and manners of their children expoſed to total wreck, in the infectious communion of the common ſoldiery—the meaneſt and moſt profligate of mankind. The impreſſment of a Britiſh ſeaman is doubtleſs a revolting ſpectacle, but falls far ſhort of the ſcene of real diſtreſs, exhibited at the balloting of a conſcription, when the parents or friends of the conſcript are indulged, as is often the caſe, in drawing his ticket from the fatal urn. The piercing ſhrieks and tumultuous acclamations alternately uttered on theſe occaſions, by a people to whom Nature has allotted ſuch vivacity of character, wholly overpower the feelings of a ſpectator, and conduct him irreſiſtibly to the concluſions we have adopted, concerning the ſpirit with which the imperial diſpenſations are obeyed.

public expenses in the first years of the Revolution. (*Ramel, Histoire des Finances de la Republique.*) Even in 1803, this sale continued, and produced about 18 millions francs. (*Comptes Generaux du tresor public.*)

We by no means condemn, but indeed cordially approve, a scheme of levies, which would summon, *inexorably*, all ranks to *the defence of the state*, and compel the opulent to make ample pecuniary retribution for the loss of their personal service in foreign operations. But the French conscription, as must be already apparent, rests upon quite another basis; and, under the garb of equality, acts with a most partial and vexatious pressure. Men of large fortune, the least respectable of the community of France at this moment, either monopolize the substitutes, or corrupt the inspecting officers, and thus disentangle themselves from the trammels of the law. The parasites of the court, by intrigue and favour, secure the same immunity to themselves and their friends. The great military and civil dignitaries of the empire are privileged *ex officio*; and this exemption will be gradually extended to all whose zeal is useful to prop the greatness of the ruling power. The burden, then, falls with accumulated weight upon the class of persons whom we have mentioned in a former page; and a still greater evil is inflicted, by thus confounding them with the dregs and lees of the community. Feelings and habitudes should be consulted in every general act of legislation; and in this instance, the distress and inconvenience occasioned to the lower orders, bear no proportion to the misery inflicted on the higher and middling ranks of the people. It is unnecessary, too, to have recourse to so comprehensive a plan of compulsion, for the creation of a force adequate to all the purposes of *ordinary warfare*. Louis XIV., when at war with the whole of the North of Europe, maintained an army of 300,000 men, principally made up by voluntary levies; and under the last unfortunate monarch of that name, the forces of the kingdom, recruited in the same manner, amounted to 200,000; of which Paris alone furnished annually 6000, although it now yields but 1400 for the conscription.

Notwithstanding the familiarizing experience of the past, and the certain expectation of the future, every new conscription spreads consternation through all the families of the empire. From the commencement of the war against Prussia, until the termination of the campaign in Poland, three several levies were raised; the last of which, proposed in the spring of 1807, created a sensation that is not to be adequately described. Although *all correspondence relative to the position of the armies was rigorously interdicted, and no letters suffered to pass without scrutiny*, it was impossible wholly to conceal, at least from the public of Paris, the dreadful mortality which afflicted the march, and the incredible hardships inseparable from the movements of the troops—labouring under a scarcity of provisions, and the unaccustomed rigours of a northern winter. A third conscription was generally viewed

viewed as an undertaking much too bold for the internal administration, situated as it then was,—and particularly, at a moment when a belief was current, among all ranks, that the Emperor would be unable to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which he was supposed to be involved. The government appeared sensible of the hazard; and in order to prepare the public mind for the event, caused their intention to be announced in whispers through the circles and three thousand coffee-houses of the capital. The effect was everywhere visible, even to the eye of a cursory observer;—an impression of terror upon the countenances of those, who either were themselves exposed to the danger, or shuddered at the prospect of new revolutionary alarms,—of suspicion, and joy but half disguised, in the lowering brows of the turbulent and disaffected, constantly on the alert to improve the concurrence of opportunity, and who hailed this desperate expedient, as a confirmation of their hopes relative to the perils of the army. The orator of the government, *Renaud St. Jean D'Angely*, shed tears of real or affected sorrow, as he stated the necessity of the measure; and the Senate received it, contrary to their habit, in silent acquiescence, and with every indication of reluctance and dismay.* In order to assuage the general feeling, it was found adviseable to qualify the new call for 80,000 men, by a clause which enacted, that they were *then* to be merely organized, and retained within the limits of the empire, as a national guard. Circumstances enabled them to adhere to this condition, which, we need not add, would have been violated, if the armies had sustained a defeat, or the campaign been protracted to a more distant term. It was the established practice of the Romans, in their foreign wars, to maintain an army in Italy, ready to march in case of disaster; and a recourse to the same policy was indispensable for the French commander, to recal Victory, had she deserted his standard, and to drive his antagonist to the conclusion of an ignominious peace, by intimidating him with the show of new and inexhaustible assailants.

It is not easy to convey a just idea of the state of Paris during this period of uncertainty and alarm. We believe, that there never has existed, with a vast majority of its inhabitants, a serious reliance on the stability of the present government; and we are credibly informed, that no doubt was then entertained of its immediate dissolution, if the armies had been broken and dispersed.

* *Before* the law was passed by the Senate, the Minister of Police had issued his orders for the appearance of the conscripts of Paris at the registry. So securely did he rely upon the compliant disposition of that venerable body!

We are told, that the proportion of idle, profligate and desperate adventurers, whom the Revolution has ingendered, or accident collected in Paris, is truly astonishing; and that there is still to be found, among the literati of every class, and even in the deliberative assemblies, a numerous body, with a marked predilection for republican institutions. The first were, and are, ripe and eager for any change,—and the latter, equally prepared to reassert their favourite opinions, and cooperate in the subversion of a government, by which they are held in contempt, and reduced to a most abject and contumelious servitude.* As Paris, together with the rest of the empire, was left almost destitute of troops, the danger was only to be counteracted, by quickening the vigilance, and multiplying the terrors, of their domestic inquisition. Among the anomalies of the human character that confound all general reasoning, there is none more incomprehensible, than the empire which this tribunal exercises over the whole nation. A people, of all others, the most mercurial in their temper—the most thoughtless in their levity—the most ungovernable in their fury,—under the influence of this power, lose the distinguishing features of their character; and on subjects connected with the public weal, display the vigilance of habitual fear, and all the sobriety and reserve of consummate prudence. They know and observe, as it were instinctively, the precise limits assigned to the range of language; and, conscious that a mysterious ubiquity is one of the attributes of this searching police, discipline accordingly the tongue and the countenance, even in their domestic seclusion.

* The members of the Institute were formerly distinguished for their republican spirit, and did resist, with some marks of energy, the title of *Imperial*, which was proposed for their body. Nevertheless, they are condemned to hold this language, in one of their late addresses to the Emperor—"Sire, Les premiers corps de l'état, en deposant au pied du trône, l'hommage de leur respects, de leur admiration, de leur amour, ont epuisé toutes les expressions consacrés à ces sentimens. L'*Institut* qui ne pourroit que les repeter avec moins d'avantage, et qui sans doute échoueroit en essayant d'exprimer avec de foibles paroles votre gloire immense, L'Institut, se renferme dans sa propre reconnaissance," &c. &c. At a sitting of 18th January, 1806, a letter was read from the Emperor to an extraordinary convocation of this sapient body, setting forth, that M. La Lande, who was then Professor of Astronomy, and had published something offensive to the President of the Senate, *had fallen into a state of infancy* (un etat d'enfance), and enjoining him to print nothing more under his own name. The astronomer appeared to be flattered with this mark of the Imperial notice, and declared that he would conform to the instruction.

clusion. Whoever has had occasion to know the present state of Parisian society, will be struck with the prophetic accuracy of the following description, as applied to the aspect it wore at the period of which we are speaking. 'Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas gens adversum proximos, congressus, colloquia, nota ignotaque aures vitari, etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur. Unde plena omnia suspicionum et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico. Ut quemque nuntium fama attulerat animum vultumque conversi, ne diffidere dubiis, ne parum gaudere prosperis viderentur,' &c. 'Coacto vero in curiam Senatu, arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas.' *(Tacit. Hist. lib.* i.*)*

In the midst of disquietude and fear, public festivals were multiplied, in order to give an air of confidence to the administration at home; and an unusual degree of splendour brightened the court of the Empress, who remained in Paris, and took a principal share in these mummeries of despotism. Her Majesty was constantly glittering before the public eye, either at the brilliant *cercles* of the Thuilleries, the numerous and magnificent *fêtes* of the *Luxembourg* and the *Garde-Meuble*, or in the theatres, at the meanest of which she condescended to assist, and to inhale the incense of the multitude. * The bulletins announcing the most brilliant successes were regularly kept back for some days, and rumours of disaster intentionally circulated, that the grateful intelligence might produce the greater sensation. These, and other contrivances, however, we are informed, had but little effect in quickening the sluggish loyalty of the body of the people. That emulation of servitude, which is so signally conspicuous in the public bodies, great officers, † and 'mercenary Swiss' of state,—and to which, under all absolute governments, the higher ranks have evinced so disgraceful a propensity,—is but little seen among the lower classes of France; who manifest, for the most part, a chilling indifference to the personal exhibitions of the imperial family, and

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* Suetonius remarks of Augustus—'Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate atque magnificentia omnes antecessit.' There is a wide difference between the two monarchs; but a close affinity, in many respects, between the people.

† Tacitus, in speaking of the adulation offered to Tiberius, points his climax with the lower *order of senators*. 'Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere, at non modo primores civitates, *quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat*. Sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui prætura juncti, *multique etiam pedarii senatores*, certatim exsurgerent, fœdaque et nimia censerent.' *(Annal. lib.* iii. *cap.* lxv.*)*

appear to have lost, in this respect, all the characteristic fervency of their nation.

These trembling anxieties, and humble precautions, will probably appear strange to those who only view at a distance the gigantic frame of this tremendous government, and have not reflected on the various dangers which precipitate the fall of a power founded in force. History shows, with what rapidity of descent old and deeply-rooted establishments have sometimes fallen to the ground: and the circumstances of the French capital, in 1806, may warrant the presumption, that a system, resting only, as it were, on the surface, by its own oppressive weight,—with no prescriptive authority,—with few artificial barriers,—with no titles to veneration or love,—might have been struck down by the first gust of adversity. The alarm which was evidently felt, while it gilds the future with a ray of hope, practically illustrates a great maxim, which cannot be too often inculcated upon the rulers of every country—that for power, there is no more perishable foundation than *fear*. 'Qui vero,' says Cicero, 'in libera civitate ita se instituunt, ut metuantur, his nihil esse 'potest dementius: quamvis enim demersæ sint leges alicujus 'opibus, quamvis timefacta libertas,—emergunt tamen hæc ali-'quando, aut judiciis tacitis, aut occultis de honore suffragiis: 'acriores autem morsus sunt intermissæ libertatis, quam retentæ.' *(Cic. de Officiis, lib.* ii. *cap.* vii.*)*

We may readily believe, that, if the Conscription be hateful to Frenchmen, it must be still more so to the countries annexed to their empire. In Italy, and the Low-Countries, many motives conspire to sharpen the sensibility of the sufferers, and to foment that rancorous animosity which, as we are assured, is generally entertained against their oppressors. Their hereditary antipathies, well-known to the reader of history, and certainly not to be subdued by the events of our own era—the incalculable and *heart-struck* evils inflicted upon them by the republic and her armies, 'the record of which is written in the flesh, and cannot be erazed,'—the ruin of their old and favourite institutions—the defacement of their monuments of superstition and art—the impoverishment of all classes, and the actual stoppage of every source of private comfort and public prosperity,* Under the exasperation of past and present wrongs, they send forth their youth with a reluctance which may be easily imagined, and of which their oppressors are fully aware. In the distribution of the levies among the departments, the contingent allotted to the incorporated territories is designedly

* See Brissot's Address to his constituents for an official statement of the sufferings of Belgium during the revolution.

ſignedly ſmall; but the proportion, nevertheleſs, of their refractory Conſcripts is aſtoniſhingly great; and the coercive meaſures for the puniſhment of diſobedience, tend to increaſe the odium of the law itſelf. The common ends of political dominion, and the purpoſes of fiſcal regulation, of the Conſcription, and of eſpionage, have given a monopoly of all offices of profit or truſt to Frenchmen,—whoſe conciliatory manners and affected moderation are inſufficient to allay the jealouſy reſulting from their intruſion. As the Romans ſpread themſelves over the provinces of their empire, theſe new conquerors inundate every country where the ſupremacy of their arms is felt and acknowledged. The Napoleon Code and the language of its authors are eſtabliſhed in the courts of Weſtphalia; and the governments and civil employments are adminiſtered almoſt excluſively by Frenchmen. Clerks have been draughted from the poſt-offices of Paris to conduct ſimilar establishments in Hamburgh and Dantzick, the custom-house officers of Bordeaux and Nantz regulate the whole Baltic coast. In the countries nominally allied to France, (which are treated with less lenity than the territories annexed to her empire), public authority is every where exercised by Frenchmen; and what the rescript of the imperial legislator spares, private rapacity does not fail to devour. The Members of the Confederation of the Rhine are not subjected to the Conscription; for, like the Romans, whose policy it was, not to make their subjects or allies as warlike as themselves, the modern pacificators exact no very copious supplies of men, but extort incredible contributions for the pay and clothing of their own troops. Mollien, the Minister of the French Treasury, in the printed budget of 1807, felicitates his Emperor, on this subject, in the following terms. 'Your Majesty, Sire, has protected your people, both 'from the scourge and the burdens of war. Your armies have 'added to their harvest of glory one *of foreign contributions*; 'which has assured their support, their clothing, and their pay.' This compliment has nothing of the exaggeration of flattery.—During the whole of the last campaign in the north, the treasury of Paris was overflowing.—It is their object, † not merely to

† In the report of the minister of war, of July 1807, on the results of the war with Prussia, the number of Prussian prisoners is estimated at 5179 officers, and 123,418 privates and subalterns; and of killed, at about 50,000. Comparing this statement with the official report of Berlin in 1805, we should have about 60,000 men for the actual force of that once potent monarchy.—The report of *Visconti*, one of the directors of the '*Musée Imperiale des Arts*,' deserves

crush the armies, but to ruin the finances of that quarter, in order that the means and the hope of future resistance, may be more completely extinguished. In the above mentioned *Rationarium*, the '*Recettes extraordinaires et exterieures*,' are stated at more than thirty-two millions of livres; a sum exclusive of the exactions for the maintenance of the troops, the splendid establishments of the generals, and the gratification of private cupidity.—This surplus is thrown into the list of 'Ways and Means,' to give colour to an idea publickly instilled, that foreign *tribute* will one day wholly exonerate the masters of the world from the burdens under which they now groan; as in the history of the Roman power, the military at all times, and, at one period, the whole states of Italy, were exempted from taxation. ‡

If there be one principle of military discipline sanctioned by the universal experience of mankind, it is, that soldiers should be kept in

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deserves to be placed by the side of that of the War-Minister. It records, 350 paintings; 242 rare and precious manuscripts, many of them oriental; 50 statues, 80 busts, 192 articles of bronze, armour, &c. as the spoil which 'the Protector of the Arts' had collected in the north during his campaign.

‡ (Plutarch and Pliny.) Montesquieu remarks, that in moderate 'governments there is an indemnity for the weight of the taxes,—'which is liberty. In despotic countries, that there is an equivalent 'for liberty,—which is the lightness of the taxes.' (*L'Esprit des Lois, liv.* 13. *c.*12.) The French have scarcely this consolation as yet. The budget of 1807 states the whole receipts of the treasury for the preceding year at 986,992,539 livres. It is well known to their officers, that this *printed amount* falls greatly short of what is actually collected. The real revenue may be estimated at 55 millions sterling. Peuchet calculates the whole product of industry throughout the empire, at something more than 250 millions sterling. This, however, must be greatly exaggerated, as he includes a large amount for colonial produce. In Colquhoun's Tables for 1803, the whole income of *England and Wales* is rated at 222 millions sterling;—the whole taxes, including war-imposts and the poor-rates, at 40 millions. This is 18 *per cent.* upon the national income. It is stated, that the proportion, to the opulent classes, is about 28 *per cent.*; to the middling, 20; to the third, 16; and to the labouring classes about 9. It may be well to annex here the official statement of the French minister of finances on the operation of the property-tax in France. He is suggesting the necessity of reform in the mode of collection; and states, 'that, while some proprietors paid, *in* 1806, *the fourth, the* 'third, the moiety, and still more, of their incomes,—*others were on*-'*ly taxed at the rate of one twentieth, one tenth, and one hundredth.*' He adds, that this evil may not be so sensibly felt in great towns; but indulges

in a ſtate of unremitting activity. No great commander has ever appeared, with whom this was not a leading maxim; and it may be taken as an axiom, that no conquering army will ever iſſue from the walls of an idle garriſon, or the ale-houſes of a populous city. In attending to the general analogy of our conſtitution, we muſt be at once ſenſible, that the ſoldier who, when at a diſtance from the theatre of war, is not inured to extreme labour, and the officer whoſe eye is not habitually exerciſed in contemplating the image of his profeſſion, in ſomewhat of its native proportions, can never be well prepared for the duties of a campaign. The ſcience of command, and the mechaniſm of ſubordination, are not to be acquired by the mere manual training, or by the evolutions of ſmall bodies of men; but muſt be ſtudied on a large ſcale—in great camps and general movements. All the commentators on the tactics of the antients, are ſtruck with the importance which they attached to theſe objects; and repreſent the fatigues of their military, even in an interval of peace, as prodigies of human endurance. Auguſtus, Adrian and Trajan employed the 170,000 men that conſtituted the peace-eſtabliſhment of their empire, in public works; and it is to their labours that we may trace the great roads, bridges and cauſeways, of which ſuch magnificent veſtiges are ſtill extant in the ſouthern parts of Europe. We need not expatiate upon the chances of ſucceſs for a general who wages war with an army to which there is truly no other difference between the field of battle and the field of parade, than the effuſion of blood.

There is no part of the Roman policy which the French have more ſtudiouſly copied, than their attention to military diſcipline. It is their intention, as they expreſs it, to form '*Une generation propre à la guerre et à la gloire*'—'*Un peuple guerrier porté à la gloire par ſes lois*,' &c. And for this purpoſe, the boys of all the *lycées* of the empire are made to march to their claſſes by the ſound of the drum, and are taught the manual exerciſe during their hours of recreation. The exerciſes of the conſcripts, after their union at the depots, are inceſſant, and of a nature to qualify them for the ſevereſt hardſhips. Not a moment of reſt is allowed in the *short* interval between their incorporation and their march to the frontiers or to the enemy. The troops retained in France,

indulges in an emphatic exclamation, concerning its influence on the happiness of families in the country. Adopting the preceeding *data* with regard to France, conjecturing what must be the situation of her tributary states at this moment, and considering our resources, we may still perhaps apply, to the present period, a remark made by Mr Burke in 1769, 'that England is more lightly taxed than any 'other country in Europe;' with a system of collection infinitely less vexatious and oppressive.

France, which always consist of raw recruits, are collected in numerous bodies, and disciplined without intermission, upon a scale large enough to familiarize the private to the tumult of general action, and the officer to the use of the military *coup d'œuil.* The camp of Boulogne is intended for this purpose; and should rather be imitated as a nursery for soldiers, than dreaded as an assemblage of invaders. Fatigue, and the penalties of misconduct, make a dreadful havoc among the conscripts, whose youth and condition entail a peculiar delicacy of frame and habits. The waste of life, however, is not one of the objects of imperial solicitude. An unlimited controul over the population of the country, enables them to replace every deficiency,* and the survivors are poured into the field with bodies moulded into strength, † and minds completely broken to the yoke. Thus, it was found that, with the aid of this probation,—of austere discipline,—and *of confidence in their commanders,* the French troops supported the privations and severities of the winter campaign of Poland, better than their adversaries, who fought under every natural advantage.

The fear of punishment, the dread of shame, and the hope of reward, are all made to operate in their system with the strongest effect. Blows, which tend to weaken the sense of personal dignity, are never given; but, when the resources of reproach and disgrace prove insufficient, recourse is had to the utmost rigours of solitary imprisonment, and to the penalties we have detailed in a former part of this article. They know the full value, too, of that *esprit de corps,* which has so often changed poltroons into heroes; and employ every art to excite and maintain it, by minute divisions and invidious oppositions, employed particularly during the operations of a campaign. It requires little more than one or two years to make veterans of men thus fashioned and conducted; who, according to the bent of their genius, are precipitated in every movement, and led on impetuously to every attack; and whose murmurs, if time were given for the intrusion of discontent,

* Were I to raise a new army, says Machiavel, I would choose them between 17 and 40;—to recruit an old one, I would always have them of seventeen. *(Art. de la Guerre, liv. 1. c. 6.)*

† We have received a particular account of the toilsome and incessant exercises of a body of 20,000 men, encamped at Meudon, in August 1806, under the pretext of rewarding their exploits in the North with a great festival at Paris. This was meant as a mask to their leaders' designs upon Prussia, which were then irrevocably determined. No festival was ever celebrated; but the troops were exercised for six hours a day in a deep and wet meadow, Bonaparte himself directing their manœuvres the whole time; and sometimes under a course of almost incessant rain and tempest.

tent, would be loſt in the tumults of inceſſant agitation. By the diſperſion of the new conſcripts, as we have ſeen *individually* among their *veteran* predeceſſors of a few campaigns, diſaffection evaporates without danger to the Government; and the former are gradually aſſimilated to their companions. Once without the ſphere of their domeſtic attractions, with no hope of eſcape, and conſcious that their deſtiny is irreverſibly fixed, they accommodate themſelves to circumſtances with the facility which belongs to a temperament preeminently flexible and ardent. They are kept as much as poſſible beyond the frontiers, not merely for the purpoſes of conqueſt and rapine, but in order that they may the ſooner loſe the qualities of the citizen, and become altogether the creatures of the general. With a view to render this converſion more perfect, and more ſecure for the Government, the principal leaders are frequently transferred from one corps to another, in order that no dangerous attachment to individuals may ariſe from a long continuance in the ſame command. * If their ſervice has its extraordinary hardſhips, it has alſo its peculiar rewards. Their prototypes of antiquity never more ſucceſsfully reconciled the reſtraints of diſcipline and the licenſe of pillage. Death is inexorably inflicted, as we have ſeen announced in their bulletins, for the ſlighteſt tranſgreſſions, when it is deemed expedient to enforce order: but we need not be told, that the ſignal for riot is often given by the general, and the abſtinence of the ſoldier fully requited. After twenty years, he becomes of right a member of the legion of honour; and, as ſuch, is entitled to a ſmall penſion for life. This long term, however, is anticipated in numerous inſtances. Individuals who ſignalize themſelves are promoted on the field of battle, or ſingled from the ranks with the moſt encouraging ſolemnities; and ſometimes, for very obvious reaſons, inveſted with the inſignia of the order, and diſmiſſed to their homes with the booty they may have acquired.

By a law of the Directory, no perſon (with the exception of engineers) could become officers, who had not ſerved three years in a ſubordinate capacity. The revolution naturally opened the way to merit; and, ſeconded by this admirable policy, has filled all the poſts of their army with men, who unite in themſelves the qualities of the ſoldier with the excellences that qualify for command. It is not hazarding too much to aſſert, that nine tenths of the preſent French officers have ſprung from the ranks.

Educated

* Machiavel (Art. de la Guer.) attributes all the civil wars and conſpiracies of the Roman empire, after the time of Julius Cæſar, to the maintenance of the generals in the ſame command.

Educated in distant camps, they know no other country; and, habituated by long devotion to the trade of war, it has become their element and their passion. Their whole fortune is staked on the sword; and their attachment is therefore necessarily secured, under the *auspicious* influence of a leader, whose indefatigable ambition occupies them in their favourite pursuits, and whose *liberal impartiality* feeds the hope of preferment, and divides the fruits of conquest. To their credit and example is due much of that spirit, which, notwithstanding the causes of alienation heretofore detailed, seems to animate the whole frame of the army; and no small share of that portentous success which has attended the course of the French arms. Of the eighteen Marechaux d'Empire, fourteen have either emerged from the ranks, or ascended from the lowest employments. * Most of the generals of division, and others who hold the principal commands, have the same origin, and sufficiently prove that war is an experimental

* *Bessieres*, originally a common soldier, became in 1796 a captain of infantry in the army of Italy.—*Brune*, a printer at the commencement of the revolution, a member of the club of Cordeliers, and an intimate friend of Danton, commenced his military career in 1793.—*Augereau*, a private in the Neapolitan service in 1787, became soon after a fencing-master at Naples; in 1792 entered as a volunteer in the army of Italy; and in 1794 was a general of brigade in the army of the Pyrennees.—*Bernadotte*, at the commencement of the revolution, a serjeant in the regiment *de Royal Marine;* in 1794 a general of division.—*Jourdan* enlisted in 1778, but left the service in 1784; was a shopkeeper at the commencement of the revolution.—*Kellerman* began his career as a simple hussar *in the regiment of Conflans.*—*Lasnes*, originally a common soldier, became, in 1795, adjutant of division in the national guard of Paris.—*Massena*, a subaltern in the Sardinian service at the beginning of the revolution, in 1793 became a general of brigade.—*Mortier*, a captain of a volunteer company in his native province at the same period.—*Ney, an hussar*, an adjutant-general in 1796, after passing through all the inferior grades.—*Lefebre*, son of a miller of Alsace, became a serjeant in the regiment of French guards before the revolution.—*Perignon*, after acting as a justice of peace at Montesch, engaged in the army, and passed rapidly through all the subordinate grades, and, in 1794, commanded the army of the Eastern Pyrennees.—*Soult* was a subaltern before the revolution, in a regiment of infantry, and an adjutant-general in 1795.—*Murat* served originally in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI.; became afterwards an officer in the 12th regiment of *chasseurs à cheval*, &c.—*Junot* began his career, in 1792, as a grenadier in one of the volunteer battalions commanded by General Pille; and, in 1796, was one of the aids-de-camp of Bonaparte.

rimental science, and that military renown is not the prerogative of birth, but the harvest of toil, or the bounty of fortune.

These men, whose duties have almost wholly estranged them from the refinements and indulgences of polished intercourse, retain all the leading features of their original department in life; —a fierce and turbulent nature,—a wild, irregular ambition,—a total ignorance of the utility of civil laws,—and a sovereign contempt for letters. As they partake largely of the prey, they zealously cooperate in the views of him, whom necessity or chance has led them to acknowledge as a master; but, should he be prematurely removed from the scene, we are not inclined to suppose, that his posthumous aims will be accomplished with equal fidelity. If it be true, as has been remarked, that military governments are at all times hostile to regular monarchical succession, we can scarcely conceive the possibility of a quiet transmission of power in France, under her present circumstances. The military, of every description, are also said to be very unfit guardians for a legal constitution; and this observation is particularly applicable to the imperial generals, in whose minds no idea of subordination to civil authority, or of uncontested descent in the reigning family, could ever have taken root. The same daring enterprize which has borne them forward to their present elevation would not suffer them to remain inactive, if supreme command were placed within their reach. They would tear the sceptre from a feeble hand, and dispute the prize with the same ferocious violence, and desperate resolution, with which they are now grasping at the dominion and the treasures of the rest of the world.

During their contentions, the Continent might indeed be allowed to respire; but, independent of the established maxim, that a conquering nation must always be miserable, we confess that we can see no prospect of amelioration for France herself. The establishment of freedom in that country must be viewed, we think, as hopeless; nor can it be denied, that the great bulk of the people, while they are incapable of the temperate enjoyment, are decidedly adverse to the form of a popular government. Some expectation may be excited by the external frame of the Electoral Colleges and Deliberative Assemblies; but this is completely checked by an examination of their actual condition. They have no basis of antient opinion to command respect; no reputation of consistency to inspire confidence; and have not, indeed, in the view of any branch of the community, an existence or a will, distinct from that of the throne to which they are appended. Under the shadow of a constitution still preserved, their election can never take place, unless ratified by the Emperor; and is universally

versally understood to depend, in practice, altogether on his nomination. *The princes of the blood*, and the great dignitaries of the state, are officially members of the *Senate;* and to this body, the generals of division, detached from the foreign service, are regularly associated, so as to give them almost a numerical preponderance. * The civil functionaries of every class, have not only dishonoured the republican character by a shameless apostasy, but prostitute the dignity of human nature itself, by assuming the trade of spies and informers. In all their discourses and writings, they inculcate the speculative doctrine of oppression, with as much zeal as their oppressors propagate by conquest its practical horrors. The mere wantonness of despotism could never exact, nor could the most inordinate vanity relish, a strain of adulation which would disgrace the worst periods of Roman degeneracy. We may fairly conclude, that the tyrant, who is known to require this tribute on all occasions, has it in view, not only to complete his savage triumph over the patriotism of France, but to bring the cause of freedom itself into general contempt, by exhibiting the base servility of those who so lately undertook *to vindicate the liberties of mankind.* †. There are, no doubt, as we have before affirmed, numbers who still cherish a preference for republican institutions; many who officiously promote the measures, in order to heighten the odium of the government; and a few who submit, with evident repugnance, to lend their personal weight to the consolidation of the new system. The first, however, will make no sacrifices of interest to principle; and the last can have little influence, when opposed to a majority, who have fortified their native dispositions by the habit of obsequiousness.

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* The meetings of the Senate are always private. Strangers may be admitted to those of the Legislative Body. The latter was not once assembled during the whole of the last campaign in the North, the members not being perfectly sure. By the constitution, the judges were chosen for life; but, by a *senatus consultum* of 12th October, 1807, it was enacted, that they should thereafter undergo a probation of five years, and be then continued or dismissed at the option of the Emperor. A commission was also created for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into the conduct of the judges in being, *in order that the Emperor might remove such as were pronounced unfit for their stations.* In all political cases, and all cases of alleged fraud and evasion, the trial *by jury* has been superseded by *special tribunals;* one of which is now established in each department, consisting of three judges *appointed by the Emperor.*

† This feeling has been displayed strikingly in the bulletins from Spain, on the subject of the leading patriots of that country.

quiousness. The fabric of a free state can never be reared by such hands, nor framed from such materials, as the populace of Paris, or the soldiery of the frontiers. Should the imperial seat be vacated within a short period of time, the Legislative Assemblies might, like the Roman Senate, in their contest with Maximin, maintain a struggle with some firmness and vigour, but with no permanent means, and scarcely with the benefit of obtaining a choice of masters.

When we meditate upon the probable career of an army of 700,000 men, ‡ greater than any which Rome ever maintained in the meridian of her power, and imbued with such moral and physical energies, our apprehensions for France vanish before the melancholy forebodings we are compelled to entertain for the nations of the Continent. A nation of soldiers must be occupied. Plunder is their food, and will be sought wherever it is to be found. A people at war from principle, says Montesquieu, must necessarily triumph, or be ruined. They will labour in their vocation, and never make peace but as conquerors. Such a temperament, as we have ascribed to the chiefs and instruments of this conspiracy against mankind, is essentially at war with all the moral virtues and generous principles of our nature, with the gentle charities, as well as with the hoarded treasures of peace.

The

‡ Infantry of the line, 341,412; light infantry, 100,130; cavalry, 77,488; artillery, 46,489; engineers, 5,445; a total of *five hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and sixty-four*. This is the official statement of 1805. Since that period, there has been an augmentation of at least *one hundred thousand*, exclusive of the foreign troops, Italian, Bavarian, &c. taken into the service. Gibbon remarks, that, in his time, France still felt the efforts which she had made in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth! According to Neckar's estimate, the expenses of the war-department, before the Revolution, were 124,650,000 francs. In 1805, they were stated at 271,500,000 francs. M. de Pommeller estimated the population of France at 25,065,883, in 1789. *Peuchet* now rates it at 34,976,313, exclusive of Tuscany. The ratio of this population to the territory, is 1.093$\frac{3}{5}$ individuals to the square league;—*a condensation inferior to* none but that of Holland. *The annual levies* before the Revolution, were stated at one seventeenth of *the bachelors* capable of bearing arms—estimated by M. de Pommeller at 600,000; but the actual proportion of the yearly levies, *at a very low calculation*, may be one seventieth of the whole male population between 20 and 40. Peuchet estimates this body at 7,612,690, for 1805; and allows that *sixty thousand* have been annually recruited since the commencement of the Revolution; but the real number must be more than double. The Directory called forth 200,000 at once, in the year 1799.

The time, perhaps, is fast approaching, when these new pacificators will embrace the whole Continent in what they term their system of '*federation and alliance.*' The powers already comprehended in it will, like the allies of Rome, soon seek, in avowed subordination, an alleviation of the miseries studiously attached to their nominal independence. Their incorporation will, however, have another character, and other effects;—not of a submission, assuaged by the hope of repose and of protection, but of a real *deditio*, an unconditional surrender of all that ennobles and sweetens existence—to a power, with all the rapacity which stimulated, without the moderation that tempered, the conquests of Rome,—with the vices of her decline and the fierceness of her infancy,—with her insolent carriage without her healing arts. The genius of this dominion will be as different from that of the Antonines, as the character of the new Emperor is opposite to that of Trajan, to whom, it is now, among his subjects, the fashion to compare him.* In this individual, although we may admire the qualities of a consummate general and of a profound politician, we can never discover '*the majestic form of a mighty monarch,*' but rather trace the mixed image of a Tiberius and an Attila;—the gloomy, suspicious temper,—the impetuous rage,—the jealous alarms of the domestic tyrant,—and the immeasurable ambition, the savage manners, the stern cruelty of the barbarian, who ostentatiously proclaimed himself '*the Scourge of God.*'† Secure of impunity and careless of censure, he has at last discarded the common prevarications of tyranny, and now rests his pretensions on the avowed power of the sword. He has already burst asunder the ties that bound Europe up in one social commonwealth, and stifled even the last sighs of freedom wherever his influence has been extended. There is not, at this moment, throughout the whole Continent, a press exempt from the supervision of his police, nor an asylum in which an obnoxious individual could find safety. When Cicero complains to Marcellus of the unbounded sway of Cæsar, he consoles himself that there is still security in silence, although the privilege of complaint may be denied. Those who are immediately subject

* The most splendid of the exhibitions of the grand opera, is entitled 'The Triumphs of Trajan;' in allusion to the late victories. *Arnault*, one of the oldest, and formerly one of the most respectable members of the Institute, has recently produced a comedy, entitled '*The Return of Trajan,*' in compliment to the Emperor.

† Compare one of the last proclamations in Spain issued by the invader, with the list of titles claimed by Attila, and the *bulletins* of the Gothic conqueror to the Roman Senate, as recorded by Gibbon.

ject to the French power, have not even this consolation, and are marked out for vengeance, unless they find matter for applause in every deed of their rulers. In the French capital, even literary criticism is under political controul, and either frowned into silence or forced to commend, when its objects proceed from the favourites, or minister to the views of the government. The effects which this species of violence, and the ascendancy of the military spirit, have uniformly exerted on the productions of the mind, are now strikingly visible in the rapid decline of general literature; in the meetings and exhibitions of the second and third classes of the Institute, which are to the last degree contemptible; and in the degeneracy of the Bar and the Pulpit, of which the dignity and the eloquence have wholly disappeared. The manifest tendency of these restraints on the press, is not simply to enervate the vigour and debase the faculties of the mind, but to stifle the censure, and pervert the evidence of history, no longer 'the light of truth, and the witness of ages.'*

Compared to this state of things, the former condition of Europe, with all its lumber and frippery, and its manifold and fatal abuses, appears not only tolerable, but happy. We would rather see the balance of Europe, that nucleus of fraud and intrigue, bandied through the hands of the plenipotentiaries of the Hague or of Ratisbon, than in the custody of the Protector of the Rhenish Confederation. From the scene before us, we turn, with an eye of regret, to the progressive though imperfect arrangements of the last century, when the two extremes of Europe were connected by ties, not merely of general humanity, but of domestic feeling,—when the improvements, the lights and the pleasures of each member of this great family were common and accessible to all,—when the excesses of political tyranny were restrained by the dread of reproach, and the weaker states protected from the strong by mutual vigilance, or rather by imaginary fears. It is not, however,—and this should be remembered,—it is not primarily to France, that we owe the dissolution of a charm so salutary to all the parties. The *dismemberment of Poland* first broke the spell of

* We have in our hands 'a History of the Roman Republic, written the last year, at the command of the French government, by *L'Evesque*, a member of the Institute, and professor of history in the College of France. Its purpose is to decry the republican virtue of Rome; and it is announced, in the title-page, as a work 'destin-'ed to root out the inveterate prejudices which the world has enter-'tained on that subject.' The preface concludes with the following phrase. 'Est-ce donc à des Français de flechir le genou devant 'la grandeur Romaine? Toute grandeur s'affaise devant celle de 'notre nation,—devant celle de notre Héros!'

mutual trust and apprehension, and roused the slumbering genius of conquest, by showing to every ambitious state, that there was no insuperable impediment in the jealousy or justice of their potent rivals. After this, there remained but one serious obstacle to the subjugation of the Continent. We allude to the Germanic constitution—that huge body without strength or grace—which possessed neither ability nor inclination for conquest; and stood in the centre of Europe, maintaining an uneasy, fluctuating equilibrium, counteracting the intrigues, and repressing the prurient ambition of the South. As long as this power, with all its weaknesses and vices of construction, stood erect, the equipoise could not have been entirely lost, nor the Continent *cantonized* into dependent principalities. It was therefore assailed with something of an indiscreet precipitation, which but too clearly indicated the object for which it was sacrificed. A finishing stroke was put to the liberties of the North by the system introduced in its stead; and the languid indifference with which this substitution was viewed or resisted, afforded a melancholy presage of the universal wreck that was to ensue.

It is not to mere ignorance of their danger that we ascribe the supineness of the Northern powers. They are not only bewildered in the stupor of fear, but overwhelmed by a sense of weakness. The corruptions and abuses of their internal government have shaken all trust in the allegiance of the subjects; and the experience of mutual treachery has extinguished all confidence in their external relations. Having wrestled with their enemy, they know their unfitness for another rencounter; and, seeing no hope but in his forbearance, suffer themselves to be lulled into inaction, by professions and promises which can deceive those only who have no resource if they are violated. In the mean time, well assured of the adequacy of his means, both of fraud and force, *he* makes war at the time and in the manner most suitable to their development. He grants a truce to *Austria*; and, when the work of destruction is accomplished in another quarter, will return to satisfy, at one blow, all the old animosities and new antipathies of France against her hereditary rival. *Russia*, without resources or courage to face this athletic antagonist,—disheartened and broken by her late heavy fall,—and debauched by the profligate expectation of sharing the spoil,—will probably exult over the disasters of her neighbour, and, if we may so express ourselves, *obstetricate* at the birth of those affiliated kingdoms that are to be extracted from the bowels of the Austrian monarchy. Her turn will inevitably come, when the *intermediate powers are rent into fragments*, or, as the French term it, *unravelled* (*effilés*)—a circumstance which lays her completely open, and renders

renders the great pillar of her security, her distance, of little or no avail. The progress of the French, during the last contests in the North, in the accomplishment of this object, *has done more to facilitate her subjugation* than could have been effectuated by ten times her loss of blood and treasure. Austria, if it had pleased the conqueror, might have been annihilated at Austerlitz; and Russia soon after the battle of Friedland; but the surer policy was that which was more patient and cautious. To break down all their outworks, however, Prussia was to be immediately sacrificed; whose exemplary fate might inspire terror, but could not excite odium, and whose troops were in fact the best constituted and most formidable of Europe. * Whoever follows in thought the extension of the Roman arms over the states of Italy, and the distant countries brought under their yoke, may here trace a curious similarity, both of cause and effect; and, upon a general survey of the history of mankind, will not accuse us of indulging in gloomy visions or fanciful speculations, if we venture to anticipate, for Joseph and Alexander, the fate of Antiochus and Mithridates.

Of Spain we have spoken largely in a preceding Number; and see no cause to retract any of our opinions. Keeping in view the character and the means of the usurper, as we have now endeavoured to depict them, we saw, from the first, but little to justify any expectation of a successful issue to the contest. The imbecility of the government,—the corruption of the nobles,—and the long habits of slavery and superstition among the lower orders, held out but a feeble hope for a nation which had to contend against such fearful odds in numbers, discipline, and preparation. We augured ill of a cause, which could only be saved by heroic steadiness and enlightened cooperation, when we saw

* *Guibert* has a curious prediction on this subject. Speaking of the great Frederick—'Si apres la mort de ce prince dont le genie seul soutient l'edifice imparfait de sa constitution, il survienne un roi foible: on verra cette puissance éphémere rentrer dans la spere que ses moyens réels lui assignent, *et peût-être payer cher quelques années de gloire.*' There is another anticipation in this author, connected with our general subject, no less striking. 'Supposons qu'il s'élevât en Europe un peuple vigoureux, de genie, de moyens, *de gouvernement;*—un peuple qui joignit à une milice nationale, *un plan fixe d'aggrandisement,* qui ne perdit pas de vue ce systeme; *qui, sachant faire la guerre à peu de frais, et subsister par ses victoires, ne fût pas réduit à poser les armes par des calculs de finance. On verroit ce peuple subjuguer ses voisins, et renverser nos foibles constitutions comme l'aquilon plie de fréles roseaux.*' (Essai de Tactique, disc. preliminaire.) *Written in* 1767.

it supported by appeals to relics and images,—by long proclamations, scanty levies, and tardy councils; and could scarcely stop short of absolute despair, when it appeared that its only auxiliaries had resolved to leave the invader to beat up the game at his leisure, and chosen for themselves a theatre of action entirely separated from that of his great operations. It is now obvious, we think, to every man of common understanding, that events have more than justified our worst forebodings; and that the curtain is about to drop upon the long and disastrous tragedy of continental subjugation.

England, however, remains—the last obstacle to the establishment of universal dominion, and the richest prize for the avidity of rapine. To us, therefore, from appetite and principle, the eye of this hydra-headed monster is steadily directed, and the whole energy of his increasing means must be ultimately applied. What might perhaps be safely inferred *a priori*, is confirmed, not only by open threats and declarations, but, as we are assured, by every domestic expression of feeling indulged in the French metropolis. In all the diplomatic audiences, and in the private associations of the leading members of the government, the sentiment towards this country betrays itself in every word and gesture, and exerts an influence more like that of *passion* than of the ordinary calculations of interest or national antipathy. The public functionaries universally, and the speculative politicians of every class, either from the force of imitation, the compliance of servility, or the instinct of plunder, manifest the same spirit in all their reasonings and discourses, through which it filtrates in invective and menace, or more frequently bursts forth in overflowings of exultation, as they measure their approaches to the goal. *The liberty of the seas, and commercial peace*, are held out to delude the famished multitude both at home and abroad; but the military, and the description of persons we have just mentioned, are taught to despise these objects, and to look to more congenial and substantial rewards. Power and booty are the excitements employed to quicken their zeal in fostering and disseminating those rancorous antipathies and jealousies which are to reconcile all parties to the indefatigable prosecution of a war—to terminate only with the ruin of England. They employ the parallel of Rome and Carthage, not as a rhetorical comparison, but as an encouraging and certain analogy. They recollect the state of Spain under the oppressive and arrogant sway of the Punic republic,—compare it with that of Ireland under our dominion, and anticipate, for their troops, the same reception that was given to Scipio, when he carried the Roman arms into Spain,

and

and was universally hailed as a deliverer.* They compare the domestic squabbles of the Carthaginians, when their very existence was threatened from without, to our scruples about the Royal conscience, and our fears about the established Church, when the enemy is thundering at our gates. In their mind, there is no surer prognostic of our doom, than the strange policy of suffering our internal sores to fester and imposthumate,—of distilling immunities, drop by drop, to a clamorous and discontented people,—as if it were actually our policy to quicken their relish, and to embitter their resentments.

Overweening as those anticipations are, it is lamentable to think how broad a foundation they have in fact. We have a fleet, indeed, and a population very different from that of Carthage. But Ireland is a vital member of our empire, and not a distant dependency like Spain. A dreadful crisis, we have no doubt, is preparing for us; and how are we prepared to meet it? We have substantially means for a noble struggle—we think, for a sure defence; but they are locked up by prejudice, by faction, and by base and shortsighted self-interest. The near approach of the most tremendous danger which ever threatened any nation in the annals of the world, has made no change in our feelings, nor, so far as we can observe, in our policy. The same want of system,—the same blustering series of paltry expedients,—the same headstrong rashness and ignorant confidence, which have proved the ruin of the kingdoms around us,—are still manifest, we are afraid, among ourselves. Is there any reasonable creature who can hear the name of Ireland pronounced, and think what may be its situation before another year has gone over us, without consternation and dismay? Yet no step is taken to allay the discontents of the Irish; and court-interest, and place and preferment, are still sought after by the same system of mean compliance and angry recrimination, by which court affairs may be well enough conducted in times of security and peace. At such a season, we should disdain to think of party, or to waste a word upon the comparative merits of ministers, or of their opponents. We want to see the real strength and resources of the nation applied to the task of its deliverance; and we care not by what hands this great object may be effected. The place of a British minister, indeed, does not to us, at this moment, appear an object of attraction or envy. Even to the most powerful ta-

* There is a melancholy exactitude in some points of this comparison. Those who require to feel the full force of the example, will do well to consult the 6th chapter, 10th book of Polybius, wherein he narrates the alarms of the Carthaginians, and the conduct of the Spaniards, on the approach of their invaders.

lents and the most exalted virtues, it must be environed with depressing anxieties, and tremendous responsibility. Incapacity, indeed, is generally insensible of the dangers which it is sure to enhance; and selfishness is, for the most part, as rash as it is ultimately cowardly.

Of peace, we are afraid, it is now useless to say any thing. The time for that sage and cautious policy is probably irrevocably passed over. It might have saved Europe, long after the consequences of the opposite system had become manifest: but Europe is lost; and the condition of England is no longer what it was. Our enemy is not likely to grant us peace,—and it is more than doubtful if we could accept of any terms which he would offer. We hope, however, that no one is still found so insane as to expect that we shall force him to an accommodation by the commercial distress of his dominions. He does not want commerce. His armies suffer nothing from that distress; and he cares nothing for the discontents or privations of the millions he has reduced to slavery. This weapon, at all events, will unquestionably recoil on ourselves; and the eagerness with which the enemy has taken advantage of our decrees, to seal up hermetically almost every port on the Continent, demonstrates how truly those decrees have actually seconded his designs.

When we look stedfastly on the power which we have endeavoured to describe, and on the measures and the councils by which it has hitherto been opposed, we confess that we cannot be sanguine; and that we cannot be satisfied. We shall be called Jacobins and friends of Bonaparte, we suppose, for expressing these sentiments. This is to us a matter of perfect indifference. We do our duty in making public the facts and the impressions to which we think it of importance that the attention of the country should be directed; and are too much occupied with the honest anxiety excited by these statements, even to be conscious of the contempt with which, at another time, we might treat such insinuations.

ART. X. *Electro-Chemical Researches on the Decomposition of the Earths; with Observations on the Metals obtained from the Alkaline Earths, and on the Amalgam procured from Ammonia.* By Humphrey Davy, Esq. Sec. R. S. M. R. I. A. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1808, Part II.)

WE had the satisfaction of introducing to the knowledge of our readers, in two former Numbers, the ingenious and elaborate series of experiments by which Mr Davy was led to the discovery

discovery of some new properties of electricity, and, by their means, to the decomposition of the fixed alkalis. These discoveries, by far the most striking for their novelty, and the most important for the further views which they open, of any that have been made since the new theory was established, have attracted the notice of chemical inquirers in this and in other countries: and, although the miserable state of public affairs has prevented them from exciting so general an interest, and producing as large an harvest as they must have done had they fallen on happier times, a considerable progress has nevertheless been made, both by the discoverer himself and those whom his successful researches set in motion, even during the short interval which has elapsed since we last brought the subject under review. The chemists of France have most unexpectedly found that the decomposition of the alkalis is much easier than was at first imagined, and that it may be effected by other ways than the electric agency. The Swedish philosophers have accomplished a discovery yet more surprising—perhaps, of all the late results, the most unlooked for—the metallic nature of ammonia, and consequently of the two gases which constitute that alkali. Mr Davy has, in the mean while, pursued his brilliant course of investigation with almost uninterrupted success,—and has added, to the knowledge which he formerly gave us of the fixed alkalis, that of the principal earths. The decomposition of these bodies being attended with greater difficulty, and requiring a more complicated and powerful apparatus than is necessary for the resolution of the alkalis, our author has not brought all his experiments to what he deems the utmost pitch of accuracy and precision. But, because he sees no prospect of soon obtaining the requisite machinery, he most wisely and meritoriously gives them to the world in their present state,—'preferring,' to use his own expressions, 'the imputation of having published unfinished labours, to that of having concealed any new facts from the scientific world, which may tend to assist the progress of chemical knowledge.' We certainly do not mean to detract any thing from the praises due to such disinterested conduct, when we say that Mr Davy can abundantly afford to share his ample revenue of discoveries with his less fortunate brethren.

The galvanic battery being applied to lime, strontites and barytes, in the same manner as it had been to the alkalis, a decomposition was observed to take place. Gas was evolved, and metallic globules were produced in contact with the negative wires. But this process could not be completed so as to show the nature of the products in a satisfactory manner. Potassium (the basis of potash) being heated in contact with alkaline earths, seemed to act upon them; but this experiment did not appear to effect their decompo-

ſition. Mixtures of potaſh with the ſame earths, acted upon by the galvanic battery, ſhowed ſigns of decompoſition. Metallic bodies were produced leſs fuſible than potaſſium, burning immediately after their formation, and reproducing the mixture of alkali and earth employed. But much more ſatisfactory reſults were obtained by expoſing to the battery mixtures of the earths and metallic oxides. The preſence of the metal greatly aſſiſts the operation; and an alloy is produced at the negative point, conſiſting of the metal reduced, and the metal of the earth likewiſe freed from its oxygen. The alloy, when expoſed to air or water, reproduces the earth by oxygenation; but ſtill, from the proneneſs of theſe new metals to unite with the wires of the battery, and to burn almoſt as ſoon as they were formed, ſufficient quantities could not be obtained for the purpoſes of examination; and our author was engaged in repeating and varying his attempts to effect the decompoſition more eaſily, when he received a letter from Profeſſor Berzelius of Stockholm, ſtating that he and Dr Pontin had completed the proceſs with great eaſe, by exhibiting negatively electrified mercury to barytes and lime. Mr Davy repeated this proceſs with ſignal ſucceſs; and he does not withhold from it the praiſe which its ingenuity deſerves. He applied it likewiſe to ſtrontites and magneſia; with the former, it ſucceeded more eaſily than with the latter:—but, in all theſe caſes, an amalgam is formed of mercury with the metallic baſis of the earth; and this amalgam again gives earth and mercury, when expoſed to the air or to the action of water. The proceſs he found to be greatly facilitated by uſing muriates or ſulphates of the earths, inſtead of the ſimple earths.

By combining this method of the Swediſh chemiſts with his own, formerly deſcribed, Mr Davy obtained, in conſiderable quantities, the amalgams of mercury and the baſes of the earths. He placed on platina a mixture of the earth and oxide of mercury;—in this mixture he made a cavity, wherein he poured a globule of mercury,—and, covering the globule with a film of naphtha, he made the platina poſitive, and the globule negative:—it was ſpeedily converted into the amalgam required. This was expoſed to ſtrong heat in a glaſs tube, in order to expel the mercury; but our author ſcarcely ventures to aſſert that he ever completely ſucceeded in ſeparating the two ſubſtances. He ſeems to have come neareſt his object in the caſe of barytes; and to have failed moſt with lime. Of none of theſe metallic baſes did he obtain a ſufficient quantity for a ſatisfactory examination of their phyſical and chemical properties. They ſeem in general to reſemble one another;—they are ſolid, except at high temperatures;—they are much heavier than water,—have a high metallic luſtre, reſembling that

that of silver; and require a considerable force to flatten them. When exposed to oxygen, they absorb it greedily, and return to their native earths respectively. 'These new substances,' says Mr Davy, 'will demand names; and, on the same principles as I have named the bases of the fixed alkalies, potassium and sodium, I shall venture to denominate the metals from the alkaline earths *barium*, *strontium*, *calcium*, and *magnium*. The last of these words is undoubtedly objectionable; but magnesium has been already applied to metallic manganese, and would consequently have been an equivocal term.'

Our author next directed his inquiries to the constitution of other earthy bodies,—silex, alumine, zircone, and glucine, but with much less success. He pursued his experiments indeed with unremitting perseverance, and with his usual ingenuity; but, although he has related them at some length, and although the recital is highly valuable to future experimenters, we shall not follow it any further than to add, that there seems reason to infer that the earths in question have, like the alkaline earths, metallic bases; and we are confident Mr Davy's future researches will both establish this point as satisfactorily as he has demonstrated the other, and will give us the same knowledge of the properties of the new bases.

The last object of research was suggested to our author by a very important experiment of the Swedish chemists, formerly mentioned. These ingenious philosophers found, that mercury, placed in contact with a solution of ammonia, and negatively electrified, expands in volume, and becomes a soft solid;—that this solid, on exposure to air, absorbs oxygen, and reproduces ammonia and mercury;—that water is decompounded by it, giving out hydrogen gas, and leaving solution of ammonia and mercury. The conclusion naturally drawn from this curious experiment was, that ammonia is, as Mr Davy himself had formerly supposed, an oxide with a double basis, composed of hydrogen and nitrogen; but it seems to show also, that this double basis possesses *metallic* properties. So unexpected a light could not fail to attract the quick and discerning eyes of our author; and he lost no time in pursuing the track into which it plainly led him. His first repetition of the Swedish experiment suggested a very material improvement on it—the substitution of neutral salt of ammonia, whereby the deoxygenation and amalgamation are effected in the nascent state of that alkali, and are, consequently, more easily performed. His process was thus the same with that formerly described for deoxygenating the earths; only, that instead of sulphates or muriates of those earths, he exhibited muriate of ammonia. 'The action,' says he, 'of the quicksilver on the salt was immediate.

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'A ſtrong effervescence with much heat took place. The globule 'in a few minutes had enlarged to five times its former dimen-'ſions, and had the appearance of an amalgam of zinc; and me-'tallic chryſtallizations ſhot from it as a centre, round the body 'of the ſalt. They had an arboreſcent appearance; often became 'coloured at their points of contact with the muriate; and, when 'the connexion was broken, rapidly disappeared, emitting ammo-'niacal fumes, and reproducing quickſilver.' Carbonate of ammonia gave the ſame reſult; only that a manifeſt decompoſition of the acid, and production of carbonaceous matter, accompanies the other phenomena in this caſe. The baſes of the alkalis and earths, united with mercury, and exhibited in this ſtate to ammonia, ſupplied the place of electricity, and formed an amalgam of the baſes of ammonia and mercury. A little of the baſis here uſed for the purpoſe of deoxygenating the ammonia, adhered to it in the amalgam; but, independently of this conſideration, our author ſeems to think, that the experiment in queſtion unites more of the ammoniacal baſis to mercury, than the proceſs of deoxygenation by electricity. He does not mention, though we muſt preſume, that, in this ingenious and beautiful experiment, the fixed alkalis or earths are reproduced.

The ſingular amalgam diſcovered by the Swediſh chemiſts, may thus be obtained with great eaſe, either by the agency of electricity, or by double elective affinity. But our author preferred the former method, becauſe it is not attended with the admixture of any third ſubſtance, giving the amalgam compoſed ſolely of mercury, and the baſes of ammonia. Having procured a ſufficient quantity of it in this way, he examined it by various ſimple and ſatisfactory trials. Its principal properties are the following. At 70° or 80° this body has the conſiſtence of butter;—at the freezing point it hardens and chryſtallizes;—it is not quite three times heavier than water. In water, it abſorbs oxygen, cauſing hydrogen gas to be evolved. In air, it likewiſe abſorbs oxygen; and, in both caſes, ammonia and quickſilver are reproduced. In ſulphuric acid, it becomes coated with ſulphate of ammonia and ſulphur. Sixty grains of mercury are amalgamated by $\frac{1}{100}$ part of a grain of the compound baſis, or $\frac{1}{12000}$ of the weight of the mercury. The very ſmall proportion in which the baſis thus unites with mercury, oppoſes an obſtacle to the ſeparation of the two bodies, and the exhibition of the baſis of ammonia, which all Mr Davy's induſtry and ſkill have not been able to ſurmount: for, ſo very minute a portion of oxygen is ſufficient to regenerate the ammonia, and ſo greedily does the baſis attract oxygen, wherever it may be found, that no manipulation has hitherto been attempted, in which, either by means of moiſture, air, or ſome other body containing

containing oxygen, a reproduction of the ammonia, did not take place, notwithſtanding every precaution. We refer our readers to the paper itſelf, for an intereſting narrative of the trials made by the ingenious and perſevering author, to attain the highly important object in queſtion. The difficulties which fruſtrated his endeavours, are all reſolvable into the general ſtatement juſt now given; and we have great hopes that they will hereafter be overcome, either by this indefatigable inquirer himſelf, or by ſome other chemiſts, whom his highly commendable publication of his experiments, in their preſent ſtate, may lead to happier reſults.

Mr Davy concludes his valuable paper with ſome general ſpeculations concerning the theory of alkaline and earthy bodies, as elucidated by the diſcoveries which we have juſt now, and on two former occaſions, conſidered. His obſervations are always ingenious; and whatever comes from ſo great a diſcoverer, one ſo ſtrict in his experimental inveſtigations, and ſo ſucceſsful in generalizing them, ought to be received with ſingular reſpect. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall not follow him through the whole of his queries and reflections, highly uſeful as they are likely to prove. We ſhall only ſtate what we conceive to be the legitimate inferences from his experiments, and then notice a few of his moſt prominent obſervations. It is clearly proved, that the fixed alkalis, and the alkaline earths, are metallic oxides; and the proportion of their baſes are nearly as well aſcertained as thoſe of ſeveral metals known for ages to philoſophers, and in common life. That alumine, zercone, glucine, and ſilex, are alſo metallic oxides, ſeems highly probable; but their decompoſition has not yet been ſo completely effected as to render this point altogether certain; and, reſpecting the metals which ſeem to conſtitute their baſes, we can ſcarcely be ſaid to know any thing with preciſion. It is demonſtrated, that ammonia is a compound of oxygen, with hydrogen and nitrogen; and that when the oxygen is removed, the hydrogen and nitrogen are capable of entering into a true chemical union with mercury, forming a ſubſtance in all reſpects ſimilar to the amalgams of that body with other metals. It is highly probable, that the hydrogen and nitrogen are united together as a chemical compound, which thus unites with mercury; and that the ſame compound unites with oxygen to form ammonia. The appearance of amalgamation, as well as the analogy of the other alkaline bodies, leads us to ſuſpect that this compound baſis is truly of a metallic nature, and that the volatile, like the fixed alkalis and the alkaline earths, is a metallic oxide; but this baſis has not yet been ſeparately exhibited. Such, in general, is the ſtate of our knowledge upon the conſtitution of the alkalis and earths, as extended by the late wonderful diſcoveries; and ſuch is the line to

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be drawn between what we have ſtrictly learnt as phyſical truths, and what we have been taught to conjecture upon evidence of a lower nature than that of legitimate induction.

The laſt of theſe wonders, the conſtitution of ammonia, gives riſe to various hypotheſes. To account for the phenomena of amalgamation with mercury and reproduction of the alkali, three different theories have been ſtated. Mr Davy himſelf ſeems to think it poſſible, that hydrogen and nitrogen are both metals, aëriform at common temperatures, as zinc and mercury are when ignited. Mr Berzelius ſuggeſts, that they may be ſimple bodies, not metallic, but forming a metal when united, without oxygen; and an alkali, when united and oxygenated. Mr Cavendiſh has ſubmitted a third conjecture, that theſe gaſes, in their common form, may be oxides, which, when further oxigenated, become metallic. Of theſe hypotheſes, or rather queries, (for it would be unfair to the diſtinguiſhed and truly philoſophical authors of them, if we did not remind our readers that they have only been thrown out as hints for future inveſtigation), we ſhould prefer the laſt; at leaſt, in point of beauty and ſimplicity, it ſeems to have ſome advantage. But the ſeaſon, we truſt, is not far diſtant, when we ſhall be enabled to try their comparative merits by another and a higher criterion.

The ſingular facts which abound in the decompoſition of ammonia, appear to ſtrike Mr Davy as capable of leading to ſome degree of ſcepticiſm reſpecting the phlogiſtic and antiphlogiſtic theories; but he clearly ſhows that they leave the latter in a much better ſtate than the former. He thinks them not eaſily reconciled to either; but with leſs difficulty to the antiphlogiſtic theory. 'If,' ſays he, 'we aſſume the phlogiſtic hypotheſis, then 'we muſt aſſume, that nitrogene, by combining with one fourth 'of its weight of hydrogene, can form an alkali, and, by com'bining with one twelfth more, can become metallic. If we rea'ſon on the antiphlogiſtic hypotheſis, we muſt aſſert, that though 'nitrogene has a weaker affinity for oxygene than hydrogene (has), 'yet a compound of hydrogene and nitrogene is capable of de'compoſing water.' And he proceeds to ſhow that the latter difficulty is the leſſer one; and though he thinks it cannot be wholly removed, it may yet be diminiſhed by chemical analogies; for example, by the ſuperior inflammability of certain compounds, and the greater oxidability of alloys. We confeſs, that, to us, this difficulty ſeems by no means greater than ſeveral others not alluded to by Mr Davy; and we advert more particularly to the caſe of nitrous gas. Nitrogene, by combining with a certain proportion of oxygene, acquires ſo great an attraction for more oxygene, that it takes it from nitrogene. Here is the very difficulty

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ſtated by our author, as involved in the antiphlogiſtic explanation of the decompoſition of ammonia; with this difference, that it is rather more hard to conceive how nitrogene with oxygene ſhould take oxygene from nitrogene, than it is to conceive how nitrogene with hydrogene ſhould take oxygene from hydrogene. The difficulty, we preſume, is generally explained by ſaying, that the various degrees of latent heat contained in the ſame body vary its elective affinities. In fact, this difficulty belongs to a claſs of phenomena by no means of ſmall extent. Carbon, for example, takes oxygen from phoſphorus in reducing phoſphoric acid; and phoſphorus decompoſes carbonic acid. In like manner, ſulphur reduces the oxides of ſeveral metals, which, in their reguline ſtate, decompoſe ſulphuric acid. We are far from ſaying that theſe phenomena are unattended with difficulty, on whichever theory we attempt to explain them. We would only ſuggeſt, that the diſcovery of the Swediſh chemiſts, and its extenſion by Mr Davy, has added no new difficulty to the liſt, and offers no new anomaly to the modern theory.

Beſides the experiments which form the body of the paper now before us, there are various important facts introduced incidentally. We have already noticed the decompoſition of carbonic acid by the electric agency. There are ſome very intereſting experiments on the conſtitution of the muriatic acid, which we truſt may hereafter lead to a full ſolution of that problem. A long and curious note is alſo given upon the diſcovery of Meſſrs Gay, Luſac and Thenard, that the alkalis may be decompoſed by the action of iron in a ſtate of ignition;—a new example, by the way, of the difficulty above mentioned; for potaſſium and ſodium eaſily reduce the oxides of iron. But we ſhould give a very unſatisfactory account of this curious matter, were we to take it at ſecond hand. We hope to be able, in our next Number, to lay before our readers an abſtract of the hiſtory of the diſcovery from the authors themſelves.

ART. XI. *Memoirs of John Lord de Joinville, Grand Seneschal of Champagne.* Tranſlated by Thomas Johnes, Esq. At the Hafod Preſs. 1807.

THE Memoirs of Joinville have always held a high rank among writings of that claſs. They are indeed entitled to particular notice, as the earlieſt ſpecimen of hiſtory in a modern language; except Ville-Hardouin, which is not a very common book; and the French original of William de Nangis, which is

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still less known. From the dissolution of the Roman empire to the 13th century, the charge of perpetuating past transactions fell to the share of narrow and bigoted monks, who treat the affairs of mankind only by the way; and treat, at large, of nothing but their own spiritual squabbles, or the miracles of their saints. Those who praise the natural simplicity of antient writers, and regret their lively portraiture of manners, are very partially acquainted with the great mass of chroniclers. No man has ever turned over, with weary patience, the folio pages of the Benedictine collection of French historians—of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*—of Reibomius, Frehorus, or Urstisius—without acknowledging the worthlessness, generally speaking, of these annalists, in any other view than as dry compilers of public transactions. Yet it is a common piece of affectation, in those who pretend to be learned, to deride all modern abridgements of history, and to send the student at once to the fountain-head,—in which, if we may trust these counsellors, he will find a stream more full, as well as more pure, fresh from truth and nature, without any sophistication of philosophy. But, without the assistance of those who have brought together and arranged whatever is important in the records of antient times, we are bold to say, that little profit indeed could be reaped by their study, unless by those who should undergo the same labour with the same ability.

The greater part, by far, of those who wrote history before the 13th century, were not only ecclesiastics, but men separated from secular concerns. We have just noticed (and without exaggeration, though sarcastically) the effect which their condition had upon their tone of writing. During the midnight of Europe, scarce any layman possessed competent learning for the easiest literary work; and no modern language was applied to any species of composition. A few songs and romances appear in the French and Provençal, in the 12th century; and, if Mr Southey is not deceived, the Spanish poem of the Cid, which he has lately published, is of the same age. In the 13th century, the twilight became brighter: a good deal of French prose of that time is extant; chiefly indeed laws and law-books, besides the history of Ville-Hardouin. Joinville, the companion of St Louis in his youth, from 1248 to 1254, finished, in his old age, these celebrated Memoirs. They are dedicated to Louis Hutin, eldest son of Philip le Bel; and, at the date of the dedication, the author must have been more than fourscore years old. Gibbon imagines him, indeed, to have been not less than ninety; but this is founded upon a miscalculation of his age. He could not have been born later than 1227, since he was a knight in 1248; but there

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is no proof that he was older, though he had two children living in the last mentioned year.

The Memoirs of Joinville are read with exceeding pleasure, from their interesting subject, as well as the peculiar simplicity and liveliness of the narration. They do not impress the mind, however, with any high notion of the writer's talents. Joinville is *naïf* in an eminent degree; but it is the *naïveté* of a child, recommended only by innocence and sprightliness; not that which is mixed with archness or sagacity. It is just to allow something for the advanced age at which he wrote; but, with all candour on this score, it must be confessed, that the biographer of St Louis, like his master, shone much more in the virtues of the heart, than in strength of understanding. He has precisely what the French term *bonhommie*. His goodness of disposition, fidelity and openness, show themselves in every page; and no one ever can have risen from his Memoirs without loving the man, though many may smile at his odd simplicity, which makes him confess what few soldiers would, the chattering of his teeth with fear, when he was first made prisoner, and felt the Saracen scymitars at his throat. With all Joinville's natural goodness, he had some curious morality of his times and condition. Witness the surprize he plainly felt at Louis's never violating his word, even with infidels! Witness, too, his praise of Henry the Generous, Count of Champagne, whose right to that epithet he clinches, by the story of a certain distressed gentleman, whom he relieved at the expense of a wealthy citizen, and friend of his own, who, with well-intended awkwardness, had interfered to rid the Count of his importunate suitor. No objection to this cheap species of liberality seems to have entered the mind of our worthy Seneschal.

Besides the merits of the historian, there is a great deal to engage attention in his subject. What indeed can be more interesting than the fortune of an army of such surpassing bravery as that which Louis IX. led to Egypt,—the flower of French chivalry,—while individual courage was easily conspicuous, not yet checked by tactical plans, or lost in the confusion of modern warfare? How pathetic is the story of their disasters, when we follow their steps, defeated, retreating, unnerved by sickness, and bowed down even to pusillanimous despondency, till all is ended in captivity and massacre! There is no parallel to this melancholy story, except the retreat of the Athenian army from Syracuse, in the seventh book of Thucydides—the most beautiful and highly wrought narration of antiquity. Nor is that part of Joinville which describes the private life and the administration of St Louis, destitute of interest;—it gives so thorough an insight into the man,

man, and acquaints us so intimately with perhaps the very best, though not the most enlightened, sovereign that ever reigned in Europe. Even the strange and chiefly fabulous anecdotes of the East, which he has introduced in many places, are often curious as well as amusing.

Though Joinville has long been known, it is not long that his features have been undisguised. After the invention of printing, a custom long prevailed, excusable enough in popular works, however repugnant to strict notions of accuracy, of reforming the language of early writers according to that of the age in which the editor gave them to the world. Thus Dante, if we are not mistaken, has never yet been printed from any authentic manuscript: the orthography, at least of his time, had grown obsolete before the close of the 15th century. But the change of French during the corresponding period, was much greater than that of Italian; though Joinville wrote in the *langue d'Oil*, which most resembled the modern dialect. Hence, when the Memoirs of Joinville were first printed at Poitiers in 1547, the editor, Antoine Pune, followed the fashion of his time in rectifying the obsolete idiom and mode of spelling. Claude Menard, who, from a different manuscript, as it appears, gave another edition in 1617, made use of the same liberty. But this liberty became license, when both Pune and Menard presumed to interpolate, as well as interpret; and made an infinite number of petty alterations in the text, which, though commonly of no great importance, could never be justifiable; and the existence of which, when it is known, diminishes the pleasure arising from any peculiarity or naturalness of expression. Meanwhile, no manuscript of Joinville was supposed to be extant. Those used by the former editors could not be traced; and P. Hardouin, in his usual way, set down the whole work as a forgery of the 11th century. Hardouin's reasons for this, it must be owned, were not without acuteness, and grounded on the modern cast of language, and some other anachronisms, such as justly to induce, in critics of less temerity, the suspicion of interpolation, which is certainly akin to forgery, though of a younger branch.

At last a manuscript, in the original purity of text, was discovered in the Royal Library, and published at the Louvre press in 1761. It was then that the unfaithfulness of the two former editions, which also differ much from each other, was brought to light. But the French of the 13th century was not legible by any native; and Voltaire had truly predicted, that the real Joinville would not be understood. There were, indeed, as we have mentioned, several writings of that age extant; the Assizes de Jerusalem, the Etablissements de St Louis, Beaumanoir's Coutumes de Beauvoisis,

Beauvoisis, and a good deal of metrical romance, and smaller poetry.' But these were in the hands of few but antiquaries; while Joinville seemed to interest the general reader. Hence, in the large collection of *Memoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, it was thought expedient to reprint Renard's edition, to which Du Cange had affixed his excellent notes and dissertations. The editors support their choice, 'sur la difficulté, nous osons dire meme l'impossibilité, de lire le texte de l'edition de 1761. A moins d'être très versé dans notre vieux langage François, elle fatigue & degoute.'

Mr Johnes's translation is made altogether from the edition reprinted in this collection of Memoirs. He has prefixed two dissertations by M. de Bastie, from the Academie des Inscriptions, and subjoined a version of all Du Cange's observations, and his twenty-seven dissertations. Two memoirs by Messrs Falconet & Ravaillere, on the assassins of Syria, conclude the work; but there is not a single line from the translator himself by way of introduction or commentary. His learning is so closely concealed, that, according to Horace, *paullum sepultæ distat inertiæ;* and we cannot help saying, that the meanest drudge, who knew a little of French, was as competent to have produced this publication as the proprietor of the Hafod press. We have not remarked three places in which he has even ventured so far as a word or two in a note: and whatever value may be set on these attempts from their rarity, their usefulness will not be prized greatly by those who find (p. 190.) *Poulains* defined to be 'offspring of a Syrian *father* and and French *mother.*' It would be as correct to say, that the Mulattoes of Jamaica are sprung from a black father and white mother. The Poulains were a mixed race, derived from the intercourse of the Crusaders with Eastern women. It is true that Mr Johnes quotes the glossary of the Louvre Joinville for this interpretation; but it is so plainly absurd (since the Poulains formed a considerable part of the people in the Christian kingdoms of the East, which the descendants of European *women* alone could never have done), that we cannot think him justified in taking it up. 'Pullani dicuntur,' says Du Cange (Gloss. ad voc.) from an old writer, 'qui de patre Francigenâ & matre Syrianâ, vel de patre Syriano & matre Francigenâ generati erant.' In 150 years possession of Palestine, it is easy to believe, that the Crusaders flocking thither in great armies without women, had caused this hybrid population to multiply very much: accordingly, Joinville calls the Syrian peasants indiscriminately by the name of Poulains. They were, however, subjected to that contempt which is always attached to difference of colour; and deemed, by the real Franks, little better than Pagans.

In the next place, we think there is just reason to complain of

Mr Johnes's negligence in never making uſe of the Louvre edition. After a genuine work is retrieved, it is ſomewhat ſtrange to perſevere in an adherence to the interpolated copy. Though the uncouth phraſe of the original old French might juſtify an editor in adopting a *rifaccimento* which would be more eaſily underſtood, yet what apology can be pleaded by a tranſlator? We are not bigotted antiquarians, and will not lay as much ſtreſs as that claſs of people are apt to do, on minute points of accuracy; but the public ſhould know, that the real Joinville differs from that which Mr Johnes has tranſlated, not only in every page, but almoſt in every ſentence. The very beſt and the very worſt manuſcript of any Greek or Latin author, have not ſuch eſſential variances: and what would be ſaid of a claſſical tranſlator, who ſhould mould his verſion on the worſt edition he could find? Beſides, it was the more incumbent on Mr Johnes to have given us the true Joinville, becauſe its obſolete language is not read without ſome difficulty. But what credit does Mr Johnes expect to gain,—what benefit does he confer upon letters, by turning a common French book into Engliſh? Is it imaginable that any man, who does not underſtand French, will trouble himſelf about the Memoirs of Joinville? and, if there were ſuch a man, would he be anxious to read the diſſertations of Du Cange, which relate entirely to feudal and chivalrous uſages,—which cannot intereſt any one who has not already gone ſome way in that line of literature?

It remains to inquire how this tranſlation has been executed. We think it not unſucceſsful in point of expreſſion, which is generally free and idiomatic, without too much affectation of antiquity. The notes of Du Cange, however, are rendered very ſtiffly. Thus, p. 304, 'I have already amply ſpoken of *nocaires*; it remains only that I ſay a few words reſpecting *drums*.' The following is an indifferent ſpecimen of the tranſlation.

'After we had remained ſome time in this city of Damietta, the ſultan laid ſiege to it, on the land ſide, with a numerous army. The king and his men at arms were ſoon properly drawn out. In order to prevent the Turks from taking poſſeſſion of the camp we had on the plain, I went to the king fully armed, whom I found in the ſame ſtate of preparation, as well as all the knights ſeated around him on benches, and moſt humbly requeſted that he would permit me and my people to make a courſe againſt the Saracens. But the moment Sir John de Belmont heard me, he cried out with a loud voice, commanding me, in the king's name, not to dare to quit my quarters, until I ſhould be ſo ordered by the king.

'You muſt know, that there were with the king eight good and valiant knights, who had ſeveral times won the prize of arms, as well on this ſide of the ſea as on the other; and they were uſually called the good knights. Among them were, Sir Geoffrey de Sargines,

gines, Sir Mahom de Marly, Sir Philip de Nantriel, and Sir Ymbert de Beaujeu, constable of France. But these were not present when I made my request, being on the plain without the city, as well as the master of the cross-bows, with a large body of men at arms, to prevent the Turks from approaching our main army. It happened that Sir Walter d'Entrache, having caused himself to be well armed, and his lance and shield to be given to him, mounted his horse; and one of the sides of his pavilion being raised, struck spurs into his horse, and rode full gallop against the Turks. He thus quitted his pavilion, attended by only one of his people, named Castillon; but his horse flung him to the ground, and ran off, covered with his arms, full speed to the enemy; for the greater part of the Saracens were mounted on mares, which caused the horse to play these tricks and run away. I heard, from those who said they had witnessed it, that while the Lord d'Entrache lay on the ground, four Turks came to him, and, as they crossed him backward and forward, gave him heavy blows with their clubs, and would have killed him, if the constable of France had not gone to his succour with a body of the king's troops which were under him. He was led back to his pavilion, but so much bruised by the blows he had received, that he was speechless. He was soon attended by the physicians and surgeons; and, because they did not think him in any danger of death, they bled him in the arm, from which fatal consequences ensued.

'Towards evening, Sir Aubert de Nancy desired I would accompany him on a visit to him, for that he was a man of great renown and valour: this I very willingly did, and we went together. On our entering his tent, one of his squires came to us, and desired we would tread softly, lest we might awaken him. We followed this advice, and found him lying on his mantle of mineon, which covered him; but, on approaching his face, we saw he was dead.

'We, and several more, were much grieved at the loss of such a man; but when it was told the king, he replied, that he did not wish for any one's service who would not attend to him, and obey his orders better than the Lord d'Entrache had done; and that through his own fault he had caused his death.

'I must inform you, that the sultan gave for every head of a Christian that was brought him, a besant of gold; and these Saracen traitors entered our camp during the night, and, wherever they found any asleep, they cut off their heads. They once surprised the watch of the Lord de Courtenay, and cut off his head, leaving the body lying on a table. *They were likewise well informed of the manner of our encampment; for the engagements between us brought each party near to the other in the evenings;* and the Saracens, in consequence of this knowledge, entered the camp as soon as the guard had made its round, and committed many disorders and murders.

'The king, when he heard of this, gave orders for those who were wont to go the rounds on horseback, henceforward to do so on

foot: by this means the army was in security; for we were so closely encamped that we touched each other; and there were no void spaces.' p. 130.

The passage marked in italics is altogether wrong. In the original it runs thus: 'Et devez scavoir, qu'ils cognoissoient aucunement le train de nostre ost et armée. Car les batailles de nos gens par les compaignies quettoit chascun son soir l'unq aprez l'aultre l'ost à cheval. Et les Sarrazins, qui cognoissoient ce train, entroient en l'ost aprez que le guet à cheval estoit passé, et fesoient secretement moult de maux et de meurtres.' Which a careful translator might have thus rendered: *For the troops, into which our corps of men at arms were divided, took it in succession, one after the other, to patrole round the army on horseback, &c.* There is no great difficulty in this sentence of Joinville, though some little grammatical incorrectness. But could Mr Johnes for a moment imagine that his own translation was right? In the Louvre edition, it is expressed plainly enough; and we will quote the words, as a specimen of the difference between that and the corrupted text. 'Et ceste persecution avenoit, pource que les batailles quietoient chascun à son soir l'ost à cheval; et quant les Sarrazins vouloient entrer en l'ost, ils attendoient tant que les frains des chevaus et des batailles estoient passés, si se metoient en l'ost par darieres les dos des chevaus, et r'issoient avant que jours feust.'

In many other places we have remarked great inaccuracy of translation. 'The layman, whenever he hears the Christian faith contemned, should defend it, *not only by words*, but with a sharp-edged sword.' p. 102. This is quite contradictory to the sense of the passage, which, by the way, has been quoted oftener than any other in Joinville. The least attention to the context would have shown, that Louis, who is speaking, advises laymen to defend their faith with no other argument than that of hard blows. The French phrase, *non pas seulement de paroles*, though ambiguous, might have been properly rendered, *not with mere words*. But the best way of all would have been, to have looked at the Louvre edition, where he would have found that these words are an interpolation. In the story of Arthault de Rogent, p. 113. 'The poor knight was *greatly surprized; n'estoit mie esbahi.*' P. 138. 'I and my knights returned thanks to God for this second escape.' In the French: '*Et secondement grant grace nous fist nostre Seigneur, à mis chevaliers, et à moy.*' p. 140. *Epée* is translated, first, *spear*, and afterwards *sword*, in two successive sentences, and in speaking of the same individual weapon. *Prudent* for *preux*, p. 160.; *statesman*, for *homme d'etat*, p. 168, are further specimens of Mr Johnes's negligence. How could the

the last error fail to glare upon him, if he reads over his own translation, in which a young knight, like Joinville, is made to call himself a statesman? *Homme d'etat* means only *man of rank:* in the Louvre edition it is *riche omme;* which has the same sense.

Perhaps we may be thought to bear hard upon a gentleman, whose preference of literary recreations to those more usual among his class, does him unquestionable honour. But this honour, after all, is not immeasurable; and, whatever respect is due to a country squire who translates French chroniclers, we cannot, at once, give him a high place in the republic of letters. There is, in England, much more than a fair regard shown to *gentlemen scholars;* and, in Mr Johnes's instance, it would not be difficult to point out a great deal of ignorant or parasitical eulogy which has been bestowed upon his translations. That any translation of Joinville, which we have before us, or of Monstrelet, which is promised, or Philippe de Comines, if he should go so far, is demanded by the literay world, we firmly deny; and as decidedly assert, that Mr Johnes has done nothing, as yet, upon which a reputation of authorship can fairly be erected.

ART. XII. *An Account of the Application of Gas from Coal to Economical Purposes.* By W. Murdoch. Communicated to the Royal Society by Sir Joseph Banks.—Phil. Trans for 1808.

Considerations on the Nature and Objects of the intended Light and Heat Company. London, Ridgway. 1808.

A National Light and Heat Company, &c. with four Tables of Calculations, &c. And various other Pamphlets. By F. A. Winsor.

THE first in this list is a very interesting paper. It consists only of a few pages; but the facts it contains are curious; and it leads to the consideration of a subject, which has excited a good deal of attention in the metropolis, and is soon, it is said, to undergo a Parliamentary discussion. We have neither the power nor the wish to prejudge the cause; nor would we willingly hurt the feelings of any individual: our object is little more than a simple statement of facts. We have witnessed some obscure attempts to light with gas, that did not succeed; and we have read pamphlets on the subject, circulated perhaps to allure subscribers, which are as full of extravagance as they are void of

science. But, in spite of these failures, and amidst all the nonsense that has been published, and all the ridicule, in a great measure merited, that has been thrown on some of the projects, still we think there is discernible a basis of sound and practicable improvement, to the development of which a small portion of our time may be usefully devoted.

As the subject has been involved in much confusion, and, to many of our readers, must be altogether new, we shall first endeavour to state, in a brief and popular way, the chemical composition of coal, before we detail the new applications that are proposed to be made of its ingredients.

Pit-coal exists in this island in strata, which, as far as concerns the hundredth generation after us, may be pronounced inexhaustible; and is so admirably adapted, both for domestic purposes and the uses of the arts, that it is justly regarded as a most essential constituent of our national wealth. When exposed to heat, as we see it every day in our grates, it is manifestly composed of a fixed base of carbonaceous matter, and a variety of evaporable substances, which are driven off in the form of smoke and flame. But, instead of being consumed in this open way, the coal may be distilled, and these evaporable matters collected in proper vessels, and examined. They are then found to contain, besides a considerable quantity of matter, which is condensed by cold into tar and alkaline liquor, an invisible elastic fluid, or gas, which no cold nor affusion of water can condense or absorb. It is a compound of two highly inflammable gases, which chemists call the light hydrocarbonate, and the heavy hydrocarbonate, or olefiant gas; and this mixture burns with a very brilliant and beautiful light. It is this gas which furnishes the flame in our common fires; * but its beauty is there impaired by the unavoidable alloy of smoky vapour. A separation, however, may be effected by the distilling process, which leaves the pure aërial fluid such as we have described. All the new plans for lighting with coal-gas, proceed upon the principle of purifying this fluid, collecting it in reservoirs, and distributing it in tubes. From the furnace where the coal is distilled, a main pipe may convey *all* the evaporable matter into a large reservoir or gasometer, where, by

* There are, in fact, according to Mr Davy, three inflammable gases given out in our fires;—the two we have mentioned, and the gaseous oxide of carbon, which is known by its blue flame. They are all distinctly perceptible; the light hydrocarbonate forms the main body of the flame; the olefiant appears in brilliant jets; and the gaseous oxide is occasionally seen near the root of the flame, or in contact with the coal. It is possible that a small portion of this oxide may mix with prepared gas.

by various means—chiefly, we believe, by washing with water, it may be freed from impurities, and propagated through the tubes in every direction by its own elasticity. If nothing confine it, it will issue from the extremities in an equable flow, but still invisible, till a lighted taper be applied, when it bursts into flame, and continues to burn as long as the gas is supplied. Mr Accum found, by a comparison of shadows, in the manner suggested by Count Rumford, that the light of a gas flame is to that of an equal-sized flame of a candle or lamp as 3 to 1;* or, in other words, that to light up a certain space, one gas-flame will give as much light as three candles burning with a flame of equal size. The products of the combustion are in both cases the same,—water and carbonic acid gas; but with this material difference, that candles frequently, and lamps always, give out a quantity of smoke and soot; whereas the combustion of the gas is perfect, and leaves no sensible residuum,—nothing that can soil the most delicate white. Its effects on the air of a room are therefore less insalubrious than those of a candle, since the only noxious substance it yields is carbonic acid gas; and this it produces in smaller quantity than our common lights. From the inflammable properties of the gas, explosions, bursting of tubes, and other dangers might be apprehended. But there is no ground for such fears. On the contrary, nothing can be more simple or easy in the management. The gas may be confined by a stop-cock with perfect safety, and issued as occasion requires. When it is exhausted, the flame goes out as quietly as the flame of a candle does, when the tallow is spent.

Such are the nature and properties of this curious and beautiful substance, when examined in a small way in the laboratory of the chemist. But it frequently happens, that theories perfectly just and elegant in themselves, and confirmed by experiments on a small scale, with a nice apparatus and skilful management, are yet, when attempted in the large and wholesale way, utterly incapable of being reduced to practice; and thus, many a promising plan has ended with performing nothing. But, in the case be-

* We should have suspected the proportion was overrated, had not the same accurate experimenters assured us, 'that 500 cubic inches of gas, burnt from the orifice of a jet, so as to produce a flame equal in size to that of an ordinary candle, consumed 1076 cubic inches of oxygene gas in the same time that a candle, kept burning in the best possible manner, consumed only 279; and we know, that the intensity of any artificial light depends on the rapidity with which oxygene is absorbed.'—See Appendix to Report of the Committee, &c.

fore us, there are facts, of the description we want to be collected from different quarters, and furnished by individuals unconnected with each other, which fully verify the anticipations of theory, and the conclusions of more limited experiment.

The first, and by far the most valuable of these facts, is contained in Mr Murdoch's paper; the chief object of which is to describe the mode of lighting the cotton-mill of Messrs Philips & Lee, at Manchester. From this account we learn, that 'the whole of the rooms of this, the most extensive cotton-mill in the kingdom, with the counting-house and store-room, and the adjacent dwellinghouse of Mr Lee, are now, and have been for several years, lighted up with the gas from coal, to the exclusion of all other artificial light.' The manner in which the gas is procured and distributed, we shall quote in his own words.

'The coal is distilled in large iron retorts, which, during the winter, are kept constantly at work, except during the intervals of charging: and the gas, as it rises from them, is conveyed by iron pipes into large reservoirs or gasometers, where it is washed and purified, previous to its being conveyed through other pipes, called mains, to the mill. These mains branch off into a variety of ramifications, forming a length of several miles, and diminish in size as the quantity of gas to be passed through them becomes less. The burners, when the gas is consumed, are connected with the above mains by short tubes, each of which is furnished with a cock, to regulate the admission of gas to each burner, and to shut it totally off when requisite. This latter operation may likewise be instantaneously performed throughout the whole of the burners in each room, by turning a cock, with which each main is provided, near its entrance into the room.'

By a comparison of shadows, the whole light of the gas flames used was found equal to that of 2500 candles of 6 to the lib. We cannot enter into all the items of expense: * they are given with the most scrupulous accuracy; and the economical statement for one year stands thus. The cost of the cannel coal which he used to furnish the gas, is 125l.; and of common coal to carbonize it, 20l.; in all, 145l.;—from which, deduct the value of the coke, 93l., and the whole expense in coal is reduced to 52l. The interest of capital sunk in the apparatus, with a liberal allowance for tear and wear, is stated at 550l.; making the total expense of lighting the manufactory about 600l. a year. That of candles, to give the same light, would be about 2000l. If the comparison were made on the average of three hours a day, which, in most cases, would perhaps be nearer the truth, the advantage would be still more in favour of the gas lights. The interest of capital and tear

* *Vide* Nicholson's Philosophical Journal for October last.

tear and wear, remaining nearly the same as in the former case, the whole cost would not exceed 650l., while that of the tallow would be 3000l. Here, then, we have a saving of three parts in four; and it is not likely, as we shall see hereafter, that Mr Murdoch has reached the utmost point, either of economy in his process of distillation, or of simplicity in the construction of his apparatus. 'The peculiar softness and clearness of this light' (says Mr Murdoch, under whose direction the whole was completed), 'with its almost unvarying intensity, have brought it into great 'favour with the work-people: and its being free from the inconvenience resulting from the sparks, and frequent snuffing of the 'candles, is a circumstance of material importance, as tending to 'diminish the hazard of fire, to which cotton-mills are known to 'be much exposed.'

The next fact we shall bring forward is important, in as much as it shows, that the superiority of gas-lights is not confined to great manufactories, but is equally apparent in those on a small scale,—thus opening a much wider range for the possible application of the new mode. We are indebted for this fact to a Mr Cook,* a manufacturer of metal toys at Birmingham;—a clear-headed, practical man, not apt to be dazzled by a fanciful theory, but governed in his transactions by a simple balance of profit and loss. There is a *naïveté* in his own account of his process, which will amuse as well as instruct the reader.

'My apparatus is simply a small cast-iron pot, of about eight 'gallons, with a cast-iron cover, which I lute to it with sand. 'Into this pot I put my coal. I pass the gas through water into 'the gasometer or reservoir, which holds about 400 gallons; and, 'by means of old gun-barrels, convey it all round my shops. 'Now, from twenty or twenty-five pounds of coal, I make per-'haps six hundred gallons of gas; for, when my reservoir is full, 'we are forced to burn away the overplus in waste, unless we 'have work to use it as it is made: But, in general, we go 'on making and using it, so that I cannot tell to fifty or a hun-'dred gallons;—and, in fact, a great deal depends on the coal, 'some coals making much more than others. These twenty-five 'pounds of coal put into the retort, and say twenty-five pounds 'more to heat the retort, which is more than it does take one 'time with another, but I am willing to say the utmost, are worth 'fourpence per day. From this fourpence we burn eighteen or 'twenty lights during the winter season.' In this manner are the candles which he used to employ, and which cost him three shillings a day, entirely superseded. But, besides his expense in candles,

* Philosophical Journal for December 1808.

candles, oil and cotton for soldering used to cost him full 30*l.* a year; which is entirely saved, as he now does all this soldering by the gas flame only. For 'in all trades in which the blow-pipe 'is used with oil and cotton, the gas flame will be found much 'superior, both as to quickness and neatness in the work: the 'flame is sharper, and is constantly ready for use; while, with 'oil and cotton, the workman is always forced to wait for his 'lamp getting up; that is, till it is sufficiently on fire to do his 'work. Thus, a great quantity of oil is always burned away 'useless; but, with the gas, the moment the stop-cock is turn-'ed, the lamp is ready, and not a moment is lost.' We must refer to Mr Cook's letter, for the details of expense, which he gives with faithful minuteness, and always leaning to the side unfavourable to the gas. The result of the whole is, that he saves 30*l.* out of the 50*l.* which his lights formerly cost him: and, when we consider that his calculation allows the gas lights to be burnt the whole year, and the candles only twenty weeks, there can be little doubt, that the savings in this case follow nearly the same proportion as in the former. If the apparatus be erected on a still smaller scale, 'the saving,' Mr Cook assures us, 'will be 'equally great:—for the poor man who lights only six candles, 'or uses one lamp, if the apparatus is put up in the cheapest 'way, will find it only cost him 10*l.* or 12*l.*, which he will near-'ly, if not quite, save the first year.'

The last trial of gas lights we shall mention, though not the most satisfactory, has made the greatest noise in the world, and was, indeed, what first led us to think upon the subject. During one of those excursions to the metropolis, with which we occasionally treat ourselves after a long period of northern rustication, our attention, at such a time alive to every thing, was arrested by a new and singular spectacle. The whole range of Pall Mall, from St James's to Cockspur-Street, was lighted up by means of lamps, fed with gas instead of cotton and oil, and certainly in a style of much superior brilliancy. We found, upon inquiry, that the conductor of this remarkable illumination was a Mr Winsor, acting under the auspices of a committee of subscribers; and that it was executed by them as a grand experiment to convince Parliament and the public of the national importance of their intended Light and Heat Company. Subscriptions had been collected, to a very large amount, to carry into effect Winsor's *discovery;* and 20,000*l.* vested in a committee, to assist him in his experiments, and make application to Parliament for a charter of incorporation. In prosecution of these objects, we afterwards learned, that a correspondence was opened with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the month of March last; but he, alleging partly

partly the advanced state of the session, which did not allow a private bill to be presented, and partly his own doubts as to the utility of its object, declined promising his support to the measure. Since that time, a general meeting, it seems, has resolved not to regard the answer of Mr Perceval as a final rejection, but to come forward with their claims for a charter, during the present session. On what grounds these claims are founded, it is not very easy to discover. It is possible that government, foreseeing that the new mode of lighting would render less productive the taxes raised on the common materials, might think it wise to sanction some public establishment, by way of securing to itself a share in the profits. But it is the title of Mr Winsor and his friends to an exclusive privilege, that puzzles us. We attempted to look for it in his pamphlets; but encountered, at every step, such ignorance, quackery, extravagance, and false calculation, that we had scarcely patience to wade through them. As, however, we are in search of *facts*, we shall, in mercy to a foreigner and an enthusiast, who talks about his *new light* with all the fervour of a fanatic, pass over his wild reasonings in bad English, and state briefly whatever there is of value in his plans and processes.

We must premise, however, that we cannot allow him the credit of being a great discoverer,—a name which he is suspiciously fond of arrogating to himself. That coal yields an inflammable gas has been long known; and its nature is particularly described by Dr Clayton in the Philosophical Transactions for 1735. With regard to the useful application of it, Mr Murdoch was undoubtedly the first who conceived the idea of conveying it through tubes, and employing it for artificial light; and we embrace, with pleasure, this opportunity of doing justice to the modest fame of our countryman. This was as early as the year 1792, long prior to the period from which Winsor himself dates his discovery. We fear, therefore, that the bugbear of his patent right, which he holds out *in terrorem*, will avail him little, and that it is impossible to give him or his friends the monopoly of a practice, which is already adopted by several persons who pretend to no secret or mystery in the art. We cannot discover that there is any decided superiority in Mr Winsor's gas lights over those of Mr Murdoch. It is asserted, indeed, in 'Considerations,' &c. that it is necessary to take to pieces, now and then, the tubes in Mr Lee's manufactory, to clear them from impurities; while those of Mr Winsor contract no soil by any length of use. But Mr Murdoch expressly assures us, in his paper, that all inconveniences of this kind are now entirely done away. Winsor's analysis of Newcastle coal is certainly very complete. The gas flames he exhibits in the different apartments of his

his house are extremely brilliant; and the variety and neatness of their application worthy of praise.

He deserves credit too, we think, for calling the public attention, more than had been done before, to the peculiar advantage of coke as a cheap and agreeable fuel. This substance is the residuum that is found after all the evaporable matter has been expelled from the coal by heat. It comes out from the distilling process in large spungy masses, greatly diminished in weight, but increased in bulk nearly one third. Though somewhat more difficult of ignition than coal, it burns longer, and gives out a steadier and more intense heat. That it should do so, will not appear strange to our chemical readers, (and who is there now, that does not know something of chemistry?), when it is considered that the quantity of matter, which, in the combustion of coal, is changed from a solid to a state of elastic fluidity, must necessarily carry off much caloric in a latent state; while the glow of the coke radiates with an intensity unimpaired by any demand of this kind. The same respectable chemist we formerly mentioned, bears testimony to the superiority of coke. 'I have learned,' says Mr Accum, * 'that the heat produced by coke, when compared with that which can be obtained from coal, is at least as 3 to 2.' Thus he found, that it required three *bushels* of coal to distil a given quantity of water, and only two of coke. He tried the two substances also by combustion, with a certain measure of oxygen gas, by the fusion and the reduction of metals, &c.; and the same result was obtained,—a result certainly not unimportant, since it proves that, by being forced to yield the material of a beautiful light, coal is actually improved very considerably in its power of giving heat. We have not the least doubt that this coke, as Winsor produces it, and as we have seen it used in his house, might be introduced to form, if not the whole, at least four fifths of our common fires, with a very great addition of comfort, cleanliness and economy. Let it be observed, however, that we possess no facts that warrant us in pushing this conclusion any further than regards the coke of Newcastle coal. Mr Murdoch, though he makes proper allowance for the coke produced in his process, does not enlarge at all on its qualities; and it is probable, that some species of coal generate coke too dull and difficult of ignition for consumption in our grates, and only fit to be used in stoves and furnaces where there is a strong draught. But we are persuaded, that the greater proportion of the other varieties in the island will be found, on trial, to yield the same sort of coke as Winsor's, and that it can never be produced in such quantity, by the extended use of the

* Appendix to Report of the Committee, &c.

the gas lights hereafter, that the demand will not fully and rapidly absorb it. Its merits have long been acknowledged in many processes of art; and it is prepared from coal with the loss of all the volatile ingredients in the great manufacturing districts; and if the price were lowered, by turning the gas to account, it could hardly fail to become a favourite fuel.

We have taken no notice of the tar and alkaline liquor which are copiously produced in the distillation; because we have few facts to go upon in estimating their value. The former is useful as a coating to preserve, from the worm and rot, timber exposed to the air, or lying under water; and it is not unlikely, that other more important uses may be found for it. As to the liquor, we believe it to be of no use whatever; and it is one of the absurdities of Winsor's calculations, to reckon at one shilling per gallon, a substance, of which, we are convinced, no man in London would purchase a hogshead at the expense of warehouse-room.

When we said that the facts of Mr Winsor and his friends are less satisfactory than the others we recorded, we alluded to the circumstance, that, while he makes us stare at the unparalleled extravagance of his tables, where he gravely strikes a balance of annual profit to the nation at large, of one hundred and fifteen millions,—and while, by a singular effort of moderation, he reduces the gains of his subscribers to the 'absolute certainty' of only '600*l.* a year for every *5l.* adventure,'—he cautiously avoids detailing minutely the expense of the apparatus, or taking, as an *item* on the debtor side, the interest of capital sunk, which, in Murdoch's statement, exceeds the annual expense, in the ratio of 11 to 1. We need not add, how much this must falsify all his conclusions, even if he had not disproved them himself by a *deductio ad absurdum*. The committee—composed, as their Report shows, of sensible, but not scientific men—do away half the value of their experiments, when, in a Memorial addressed to the King, they candidly subjoin to their account of them—'Their present experience does not enable your Majesty's memorialists to calculate the expenses of the process, of management, of tubes, and pipes, &c. with any tolerable degree of precision.' p. 19. The experiment in Pall Mall, therefore, proves as yet nothing more, than the possibility of lighting up a street with gas;—a curious fact, without doubt; but we cannot call it a very important one, till we be enabled to add, that this can be done at a cheaper rate than with oil. It is not unlikely that it may; and we strenuously advise the committee, while they have the command of money, instead of basking in the sunshine of delusive hopes, to institute another trial, in which all these expenses shall be rigidly noted,

noted, and faithfully carried to account. It is a point which it is desirable to ascertain, though we by no means agree in the common opinion, that on its decision depends the question of the economical advantages of the gas-lights. The committee were unfortunate in choosing this for their *experimentum crucis*. The lights required in streets are at considerable intervals, and, consequently, the range of tubes is extensive and costly; and, going to a great distance from the centre of supply, must be subject to accident and derangement. In lighting the streets, too, the gas must beat out of the market the coarsest and cheapest of all materials; so that we can imagine a failure, in this instance, not inconsistent with its producing great national and individual benefit.

There is one circumstance, in which, as far as we can judge from our imperfect knowledge of Winsor's process, it is superior to Murdoch's. The latter seems to follow the usual mode of distillation, by putting the vessel that contains the coal into the centre of a furnace. But Winsor puts the fire in the centre, and (leaving only space sufficient for a draught of air) surrounds it with the coal that is to be carbonized; the evident advantage of which is this, that the least possible heat is wasted, as, in flying off, it encounters the coal on every side. Accordingly, we find, that, in Murdoch's statement, a sixth part of the annual expense goes for the purchase of common coal to distil the cannel which he employed; while Winsor's carbonizing process is performed by the refuse cinder of a former operation; and as this cinder does not appear in the estimate of coke produced, it may in fact be considered as costing nothing. Before taking leave of Mr Winsor, we shall present the reader with the results of his analysis of coal, which, from the specimen he has given us of his powers of exaggeration, we should have been cautious of admitting among authentic facts, had not the Committee declared, that the experiments were repeated in their presence, and that they corroborated Winsor's printed statement in the most satisfactory manner. Two pecks of Newcastle coal, weighing 36 lib., produced three pecks of coke, weighing 24 lib. 2 oz., about 3¼ lib. of oily tar, and about 4½ of alkaline liquor; and, as the only other product was gas, it is concluded that gas constituted the remainder of the weight, amounting nearly to four pounds.

From the foregoing facts and reasonings, we think ourselves entitled to draw the following conclusions.

I. In *all* manufactories, whether on a large, middling, or small scale,—in all public offices, printing-houses, theatres, lighthouses, &c.—in short, wherever much light is required in a given space, the gas-lights may be introduced with very great advantage. We need

need not remind the reader, how large a proportion of the artificial light used in this manufacturing country is comprehended in this description. It may be objected to the universality of our conclusion, that the price of coals differing very much in different places, will occasion a variation in the expense of procuring gas. But there are two reasons why this should have less effect than at first sight might be imagined. In the first place, we find, upon examining Mr Murdoch's statement, that of 600*l.*, the estimated yearly expense of lighting the cotton mill, 550*l.* consist of interest of capital, and tear and wear of apparatus, leaving the cost of coal only 50*l.*;—a sum so trifling, when we reflect that it replaces 2000*l.* worth of candles, that the price of coal, even where it is highest, can but slightly affect the general profits. Secondly, the coal, by yielding the gas and other volatile products, is converted into a substance, increased in bulk, and in the power of producing heat; and as a manufactory generally requires heating as well as lighting, there will be a gain both ways. By distilling his coal, instead of burning it as it comes from the pit, the manufacturer will save his candles, and improve his fuel. One effort at the outset, in erecting a proper apparatus, will reduce his annual disbursement, for these two articles of prime necessity, much in the same manner (though in a far greater degree) as the farmer gains by building a thrashing machine, and laying aside the use of the flail.

II. When we reflect on the small number of trials that has yet been made, and the expensiveness and awkwardness of first attempts, we may reasonably expect considerable improvements as the practice becomes more general, so as to turn the scale still more decidedly in favour of the gas-lights. Anxious as we are to avoid the charge of visionary speculation, we cannot help anticipating the pretty extensive introduction of them into private houses. Mr Lee has set the example:—the whole of his house at Manchester, from the kitchen to the drawing-room, is lighted solely by gas. Its properties render it particularly fit for ornamental illumination. As there is nothing to spill, the flame may be directed either downwards, upwards, or horizontally; and the points from which it issues may be disposed in any form that taste or fancy may suggest. We are perfectly aware of the difficulties that oppose such an application of the gas; but we have unbounded confidence in the skill and ingenuity of our countrymen, when they are once fairly brought into action. The gigantic steam-engine has been reduced to a convenient, and even portable size; and its power made so divisible, as to be dealt out in portions to petty manufacturers, who know nothing of the machine, but by the power which they hire. It has been proved,

we

we think, that, in the case before us, there are materials to work upon; and, whenever this becomes the general opinion, we shall not be afraid of the best means being adopted to turn them to account. Whether ingenuity should be left to its own workings, and the stimulus of private gain, or restrained and directed by the interference of Government, is a question which we do not feel ourselves called upon to decide.

ART. XIII. *An Examination of the Causes which led to the late Expedition against Copenhagen.* By an Observer. Hatchard. 1808.

THE privilege which we enjoy in this country, of discussing every public occurrence with all the freedom and the keenness which belong to our political or physical constitution, though productive of incalculable benefit on the whole, has been the source of some evils. The most considerable perhaps of these, is the habit to which it has formed us of limiting our attention to the subject of the day, and dismissing entirely from our reflection every topic upon which our contending parties have once fairly delivered their opinions. Among a nation of newsmongers and politicians, this can scarcely be otherwise. Novelty is the great demand of the superficial; and, where every day supplies something new and disputable, the most important measures must take their turn with the most insignificant; and discussions, which are to influence the fate of future generations, must give place to the paltry recriminations of individuals whose names are notorious.

There are topics, however, which it seems to be a duty to try at least to rescue from this periodical oblivion, and to which the public attention ought if possible to be directed, after they have ceased to be the watchwords of faction, or the vehicles of personal abuse. There are objects now and then to be seen above the political horizon, which, though confounded, by the dazzled and shortsighted eyes of party or of idle curiosity, with the transient meteors of the atmosphere, are yet destined to hold their course in the eyes of many generations, and to exert a visible influence on every part of the system in which they appear. There are events of great example, and of terrible warning. There are measures which leave a taint or a healing virtue behind them, long after the period of their individual consummation; and principles which, though first disclosed in events that seem but common subjects of wrangling or censure, yet entail a blessing or a curse

curſe on the nations by which they are adopted. The partition of Poland excited leſs ſenſation in England than a Weſtminſter election, or the capture of a ſolitary frigate; and yet, by that blow, the keyſtone was ſtruck out of the arch of European independence. The expedition to Copenhagen is leſs thought of at this moment than the City Addreſs, or the merits of Sir Arthur Welleſley; and yet that one meaſure has probably enſured the ſubjugation of the North, and confirmed the alienation of the whole Continent from this country. We do not know whether any thing that we can ſay can recal the attention of the public to a topic which, in the language of the Quidnuncs, is now ſo completely gone by; but the time which we have choſen for its diſcuſſion, will be received, we hope, as a proof, that we engage in it for better purpoſes than thoſe of faction; and that we wiſh to addreſs ourſelves to the reaſon, and not to the paſſions or prejudices of our readers.

It is of the utmoſt importance, in the outſet, to conſider the conjuncture at which this extraordinary proceeding was adopted. In the year 1807, we beheld the Continent of Europe apparently proſtrate before the armies of France. The diſcipline of Auſtria and Pruſſia had diſappeared before their numbers, their enthuſiaſm, and the predominant genius of their leader. The Sovereigns of thoſe countries had ſeen their capitals filled with hoſtile armies, and their flying courts hovering on the frontiers of their former dominions. The houſe of Hapſburg had ceaſed to give emperors to Germany; and the downfal of a conſtitution, tranſmitted from the feudal ages, was beheld without aſtoniſhment, and poſſibly without regret. The king of Pruſſia ſaw the antient poſſeſſions, and recent acquiſitions of the houſe of Brandenburg, alike a prey to the overwhelming power of the conqueror; and, from the remote city of Koningſberg, contemplated the mighty ruin with which the wretched politics of his own cabinet had overſpread the regions of the North. On the banks of the Viſtula, the Ruſſians ſtill diſputed the further progreſs of the enemy; but neither the protracted ſeverity of a northern winter, the difficulty of procuring ſupplies and reinforcements at ſo great a diſtance from France, nor the reluctant and indignant ſubmiſſion of the intermediate countries, could encourage them to hazard a deciſive action. The return of ſummer had permitted Bonaparte to reſume offenſive operations, facilitated the communication of his different armies, and led to the battle of Friedland, which appears to have convinced the Emperor of Ruſſia of the neceſſity of peace. The treaty of Tilſit, concluded on the 8th of July, rather proclaimed than confirmed, the power of Bonaparte, and the weakneſs of his adverſaries.

At that period, the humiliation of the Continental ſovereigns was very generally miſtaken in England for the forcible and complete ſubjugation of their territories. An interval of fifteen years of war and revolution, had almoſt cauſed it to be forgotten that the fate of a brave and unanimous people cannot be permanently decided by a few pitched battles. The fortune of every country depends on the numbers and character of its inhabitants; and the immenſe population of Germany, with their athletic forms, hardy habits, and native courage, would not have ſtruggled in vain, in a conteſt which had really called their powers into action. But the German nations had witneſſed the weak and verſatile policy, and experienced the oppreſſion, of their own governments. In their military leaders, they ſaw no talents adequate to defence; and, in the abſence of all motives fitted to inſpire enthuſiaſm, the advantage of ſubmiſſion or reſiſtance became a matter of calculation, and the celerity of the enemy's marches afforded little time for deliberation. On England, indeed, the eyes of all were fixed. In her they beheld a power which had uniformly reſiſted, with vigour, and with comparative ſucceſs, the encroachments of the Continental deſpot. She had always ſupplied the enemies of France profuſely with the pecuniary means of warfare; her inſular ſituation, her invincible fleets, and the loyal unanimity of her inhabitants, held out a permanent encouragement to every nation diſpoſed to aſſert their independence, and reared up a bulwark againſt univerſal dominion. Her enemies, indeed, had found occaſion to diſſeminate more than ſuſpicions as to the purity of the motives which prompted this conduct. But though ſhe had ſtooped after ſugar iſlands and plantations of pepper, ſhe had been faithful to her engagements with her allies; and had adopted no meaſure obviouſly the reſult of a ſelfiſh policy. In ſtruggling to ſupport the political ſyſtem of civilized Europe, ſhe had reſpected the laws by which it was regulated. She was evidently regaining character even with her commercial rivals; and the tone of high honour and inflexible juſtice, which ſounded in her public declarations, and in the ſpeeches of her parliamentary orators, had unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed a very general ſentiment of admiration and confidence. In the actual poſture of affairs, indeed, theſe ſentiments were mere latent ſparks, which ſubſequent events might kindle or extinguiſh. Her influence and reputation were placed in her own keeping; and if the ſketch we have ventured to delineate of the ſtate of Europe be at all correct, it will be eaſy to ſee of what importance it was to the whole civilized world, that England ſhould have perſevered in a line of conduct calculated to conciliate confidence, and to command reſpect.

In her transactions with the court of St Petersburgh, ſhe had recently

recently displayed considerable magnanimity. Her unqualified rejection of all terms of peace (during an administration confessedly pacific), in which her ally should not be included, must have left on the mind of the Russian monarch a very favourable impression of the counsels then prevalent in his Majesty's cabinet. Sweden, with more zeal than prudence, had ventured to become a principal in the war. The fall of Prussia paved the way for an attack on Swedish Pomerania; and, unless England furnished speedily a numerous and well appointed army of auxiliaries, all that was left to hope for, was an unmolested retreat across the waves of the Baltic. We shall never appreciate rightly the character of the expedition against Copenhagen, unless we recollect that it was contemporary with the siege and evacuation of Stralsund and Rugen; and that the forces employed in the spoliation of a neutral state might have averted that of an ally—actually perpetrating at the same time, and at no great distance.

In the midst of so much error and so much disaster, Denmark had remained unmolested,—protected by the firm but temperate politics of her court; by the attachment of her inhabitants to the family of the sovereign, and to their own national independence; by the rigid observance of a strict neutrality; and by the moral turpitude attached to a profligate aggression. But mere innocence has always been a feeble barrier against unprincipled power;—and the precautions of this state betrayed, without mitigating, her alarm for that portion of her territory exposed to invasion. From the general policy of the ruler of France, every thing was to be apprehended. The open country of Holstein opposed no barrier: Its fertility and riches invited and facilitated the entrance of that army which had long hovered on its frontiers; and as it was uncertain how long it might continue to respect them, the Crown Prince, draining the rest of his dominions of their forces, had for three years kept the flower of the Danish youth assembled on the borders of Holstein, to defend the only quarter in which aggression was then conceived to be possible. Still it was apprehended, that, in the extensive plains of Holstein, numbers would assert their usual superiority: Jutland, however, protected by its poverty and its mountains, was deemed capable of a successful defence; and, whilst the fleet of Denmark was decidedly superior to any which France could bring out against her, the security of the Scandinavian isles was never supposed to be doubtful. The cooperation of the English fleets, indeed, was tacitly counted on, in any system of defence which an eventual aggression might render necessary.

Such was the posture of affairs, when a fleet, commanded by

Admiral Gambier, and filled with English troops, left the shores of Great Britain. The writer of this article, who happened accidentally to be at Copenhagen when the account of this event arrived, witnessed the most unequivocal proofs of the sensations it excited amongst all classes in that capital. The sentiment of common danger had obliterated the national animosity which usually subsisted between the Swedes and Danes. It was universally supposed that the English army was destined to cooperate with the former, in the defence of Stralsund, and in reconquering the rest of Swedish Pomerania: and all that was feared was, that it would arrive too late. The illusion was however dissipated by the arrival of Mr Jackson at Copenhagen, as plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic Majesty, on the 1st August 1807.

Mr Jackson (as might have been confidently predicted) totally failed in convincing the Crown Prince that it was incumbent on him to deprive his own kingdoms and capital, during a period critical beyond example, of a naval defence provided at an enormous expense, considering the limited revenue of Denmark, in order to add to the naval power or the security of Great Britain. Posterity will not, from this circumstance, judge unfavourably of the persuasive talents of Mr Jackson: but a much more powerful negociator was at hand. Lord Cathcart, with an army of 28,000 men disembarked at Wybeck, on the 16th August. On the 18th, Copenhagen was invested. 'The mortar batteries,' says Lord Gambier, 'which had been erected by the army in the several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with 'the bomb-vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, 'began the bombardment on the morning of the 2d September, 'with such power and effect, that in a short time *the town was 'set on fire, and, by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was 'kept in flames, in different places,* till the evening of the 5th; 'when a considerable part of it being consumed, and the conflagration arrived at a great height, threatening *the speedy destruction of the whole city*, the general commanding the garrison 'sent out a flag of truce.' The result of this transaction was, that the conquerors conveyed to England 16 ships of the line, 13 frigates and 6 brigs.

Such, on the largest calculation, is the amount of our gain by this unprecedented operation;—against which, we have obviously to set off, 1st, the expense attending the expedition itself, which probably amounted to the prime cost of an equal number of new vessels of the same dimensions; 2d, The implacable animosity of the whole Danish nation towards this country,—devoting them, with all the resources of Denmark, to the service of Bonaparte; 3d, The resentment expressed and acted upon ever

ever since by the Emperor of Russia, which has cemented, if it did not dictate, his alliance with the ruler of France. Lastly, and above all, the wreck of that high national character, and consequent influence, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed amongst the nations of Europe.

Whoever has had an opportunity of comparing the people of England with those of the Continent, must have remarked, that, with a sense of honour equally acute, the former possess far more rigid notions of morality and justice. Honesty, and scrupulous fidelity, are necessary in extended commerce; and naturally infuse themselves into the general conduct of a commercial people. The noble and dignified sentiments which actuate the mind of the Sovereign, are universally acknowledged. The eminent persons who direct his councils, are all men of strict moral rectitude in private life. We are bound, therefore, to conclude, that the demand of the navy of a neutral power, and the destruction of his capital, in order to enforce that demand, is either consonant to political justice and established maxims, or else that it was urged by a danger so vast and imminent, as to justify the grossest violation of general principles. We propose to consider the arguments which have been advanced in support of this last and only rational proposition; and we may begin with a short view of the reasoning of the author before us.

'It has been the policy of Bonaparte, to attack England through the medium of her commerce. For that purpose, the possession of Holstein was of the utmost importance, by enabling him to exclude British manufactures and colonial produce from Toningen, the only considerable depot then open to them on the Continent. This being obviously his interest, it is manifest that he would not have continued to respect the neutrality of Denmark; but, having possessed himself of Holstein, would have had no difficulty in passing into Zealand; and the possession of the Danish fleet would unavoidably lead to that of Sweden and Russia also. Besides, the Danes did not mean to defend themselves;—otherwise, the fortifications of Rendsburgh and Gluckstadt would have been strengthened and augmented. On these arguments, and we really can discover no others in the work, it seems enough to say, that though the Danes did not consider themselves adequate to the defence of Holstein, if attacked by such a force as France could bring against it, they did undoubtedly rely upon being able to defend their islands, until attacked by a naval force equal to their own.

It would be uncandid, however, to judge of this extraordinary measure by the reasonings of this anonymous writer. Let us, therefore, have recourse to the declarations of his Majesty's mi-

nisters. In that published on the 25th September 1807, the late measures in the Baltic are thus accounted for. 'His Majesty 'had *received the most positive information* of the determination 'of the present ruler of France, to occupy with a military force 'the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great 'Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with 'the Continent; of inducing or compelling the Court of Den-'mark to close the passage of the Sound against the British com-'merce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the 'Danish marine, for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland:' and further, 'Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the 'mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.'

Now, though it cannot well be denied, that, ever since the occupation of Hanover, Bonaparte might have taken possession of Holstein, it by no means follows that he had the same power over the Danish marine. Yet of the three objects specified in the declaration, the last only, namely, the invasion of the British isles, can be pretended to have been prevented by the Danish expedition,—since England is now completely excluded from the ports of Denmark, and all the *seamen* and naval means of that country are at the disposal of the enemy.

But, in the declaration against Russia, dated 18th December 1807, in accounting for the expedition against Copenhagen, no allusion whatever is made to the positive information detailed in the first. Here it is said, 'His Majesty feels himself under no 'obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the Emperor of 'Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for 'those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit, to 'demand satisfaction for *a measure to which those arrangements 'gave rise*, and by which one of the objects has been happily 'defeated.' Again: 'His Majesty was prepared to employ, for 'the advancement of the common objects of the war, those 'forces, *which, after the peace of Tilsit, he was under the neces-'sity of employing, to disconcert a combination directed against 'his own immediate interests* and security.'

It thus appears, that it was *not* in consequence of Bonaparte's determination to occupy Holstein, that the expedition took place; but of secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, by which a combination was formed hostile to Great Britain. Be it so. Ministry wished it then at that time to be understood, that previously to the sailing of Lord Gambier on the 26th July, they were in possession of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 8th, though it has since been distinctly admitted in both Houses of Parliament, that information of the signing of the treaty did not reach the British government till the

8th

8th of August. But if they were at any time in possession of such articles, their conduct in not producing them is altogether inexplicable. The simple production of the articles involved no disclosure of the sources of intelligence: and is it possible for a moment to suppose that ministers were in possession of a document which completely justified their measures—would have silenced the clamours of opposition, and effaced a stigma on the national character—and that they yet, without any imaginable motive, preferred to suppress it? Besides, if, previously to the sailing of Lord Gambier, ministers *knew*, (for we apprehend there are none who think that a vague surmise or conjecture would justify such a proceeding as this),—if they knew, we say, that the Emperor of Russia was a principal in a combination for placing the naval means of Denmark at the disposal of France, and for excluding us from the Sound, how shall we account for the forbearance that was observed towards Russia herself,—for the policy that spared her fleets in the Baltic and the Mediterranean, her merchant ships in our ports, and her commerce in every quarter? How shall we account for the hopes long afterwards held out by Mr Canning and Lord Levison Gower, of the adjustment of a commercial treaty with that monarch? Or how shall we account for the manner in which the supposed combination is alluded to in the Right Honourable Secretary's private letter of the 28th September, in which it is mentioned, not as the result of secret articles actually ratified by his Imperial Majesty, but under the vague designation of '*a plan* brought forward at the conferences of Tilsit?' It is not in this manner that formal stipulations are usually characterized; and indeed, in point of fact, we believe it is now universally admitted, that the secret articles of Tilsit related exclusively to arrangements eventually to take place in *the south of Europe*; and that the hostile combination in the Baltic would never have been more than *a plan of Bonaparte*, if the attack on Copenhagen had not united Russia and Denmark in a zealous and cordial cooperation in his hostile designs.

It has indeed been contended, and from high authority, that ministers never had any occasion to produce proof of their assertions; that the facts which justify the seizure of the Danish fleet were public and notorious:—the power and animosity of France; the weakness and hostile disposition of Denmark; and the importance of her navy towards the success of any plan which the enemy may adopt for the invasion of these realms. These circumstances, it has been said, make out a case of necessity; and the measure adopted was one of self-preservation, the first law of nature. Of all the links in this chain of ratiocination,

those which most required support were, the inability of Denmark to resist the seizure of her fleet by France; and that, even in such a case, Great Britain was menaced with a danger so imminent, as to justify an attack on a neutral power. On the first of these points, it was contended, that the invasion of Zealand from Holstein might be effected without difficulty, since cruizers cannot always keep their stations in the Belt, nor, consequently, always prevent the passage of troops. The importance of the subject will induce us to examine each proposition separately.

The animosity of Bonaparte we readily admit. But, with respect to his power, the humiliation of Austria and extinction of Prussia had not converted the brave and robust nations of Germany into the willing instruments of his despotism. The unsuccessful campaign of Russia, though it rendered peace expedient, had not alienated the esteem of the Emperor from this country, and still less that of the Russian nation; nor could it have created in either any attachment to France. However improbable, let it be admitted as not impossible, that Denmark might have been compelled to become a reluctant auxiliary of Bonaparte, and an unwilling instrument in his hands for the subjugation of other nations. But it was reserved for the Danish expedition, to unite with Bonaparte the hearts and resources of all the inhabitants of Denmark and Russia. The conferences of Erfurth furnish an instructive commentary on our Baltic policy. The march of the veteran troops of France from the Oder to the Ebro, proves at once the confidence established between Bonaparte and the Northern powers, and the disgust which the violence of our measures was naturally calculated to excite. Thus it is, that one precipitate step has levelled with the dust, that fair fabric of moral grandeur, which would probably have rendered England the rallying-point of Europe, in the dawn of happier times.

If, by the weakness of Denmark, be meant any thing else than her incapacity to defend the fleet which we seized, we cannot perceive that it furnishes any justification of the measure. Were Lord Wellesley's assertion correct, that ships cannot keep their station in the Belt, nor prevent the transport of troops into Zealand, the question indeed would be materially changed. But the first naval authority in this country, Earl St Vincent, affirmed, in the presence of Lords Cathcart and Gambier, in the House of Peers, and challenged contradiction, that it was easier to invade Great Britain from Boulogne, than Zealand from Funen,—on account of the number of gun-boats that might be collected, and the excellence of the anchorage in the Belt. This proposition was not disputed in that House; nor did Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Samuel Hood, or Sir Home Popham, in the other, attempt to state

state any observations to detract from its weight. So much, then, for the assertion, that, 'Holstein once occupied, Zealand was at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.'

But, of all the grounds on which the expedition has been defended, the least tenable is, the hostile disposition of the Danes. 'It is *impossible* for you to be of that opinion!' exclaimed the Emperor of Russia, in conversation with Lord Hutchinson. To us it certainly appears impossible; for, even if we could disregard entirely the direct affirmation of his Majesty, of his generals, and of his ministers,—and the regret and reluctance so strongly expressed in resorting to such an extremity,—we need only reflect, that the isle of Zealand was exposed to attack from England only —the province of Holstein exclusively from the French; and that the former, during three years, had been stript of every soldier that could be spared from regular garrison duty, and the whole Danish army, with the prince at their head, collected on the frontiers of the latter province; whilst the fleet of Denmark, with the exception of one ship of the line, was laid up in ordinary. But we would ask any man of common sense and candour, Whether, if Denmark had been conscious of listening to propositions affecting the vital interests of Great Britain, such would have been the distribution of her army, or such the condition of her navy? A distinguished member of the late administration, whose exertions to procure justice for the Danes have been equally able and unavailing, states a fact, which decidedly militates against the supposition of hostile intentions,—that the number of Danish vessels in our ports, on the 2d September, greatly exceeded the average proportion,—the number seized amounting to 320. Yet the College of Commerce at Copenhagen had assured the owners, so late as the 13th of August, (only two days before the arrival of the English army), 'that any report of a misunderstanding with Great Britain was totally destitute of foundation; 'nothing having been done on their parts, whereby the good understanding hitherto subsisting betwixt both courts could any 'ways be considered as lessened or interrupted.'

We proceed to consider the *necessity* of the measure. The most strenuous advocates for the expedition against Copenhagen admit, that it can only be justified by necessity; that it forms a remarkable exception to the generous maxims which Great Britain has adopted, and which foreign nations have admired and applauded; but that the danger resulting from the possession of this fleet by Bonaparte was so great and so imminent, that we were justified in anticipating his designs. Now, we entirely concede the truth of the old maxim, '*Salus populi suprema lex;*' but contend, that the danger apprehended was inconsiderable, remote and contingent;

contingent; and, conſequently, not ſuch as to warrant ſo atrocious an act of aggreſſion on a neutral power. Miniſters themſelves did not imagine the country was menaced by great and imminent peril; for the plan which they then adopted for augmenting the army and militia was avowedly calculated, not for immediate operation, but for a gradual increaſe of our forces. But will it be ſeriouſly ſtated, that this nation would have been in a ſtate of tremendous and unparalleled peril, although the navy of Bonaparte had been actually augmented by ſixteen ſhips, thirteen frigates, and ſix brigs? Since when, we would aſk, had this force, in the hands of the enemy, appeared ſo formidable to England? When the war was laſt renewed, the victories of our naval heroes had not completed the deſtruction of the French marine. France had ſtill a powerful fleet; and Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark—all the Northern powers—were united in a confederacy hoſtile to this country. Yet, did our meaſures, at that time, argue puſillanimity, or beget deſpondency? Did any man then venture to ſtate to the Britiſh nation, that the imminent perils which menaced theſe realms had rendered obſolete the political code of our anceſtors,—and that ſafety could only be found in imitating the violence and atrocity of the enemy?

There is only another point of view in which it may be proper to conſider this ſubject. *Could* Denmark have conſented to the ſacrifice we demanded? Her continental poſſeſſions were expoſed to French invaſion; her capital might be laid in ruins by an Engliſh fleet; and her foreign poſſeſſions were at the mercy of Great Britain. A ſtrict neutrality was therefore a line of conduct imperiouſly preſcribed to the Crown Prince, by the local peculiarities of his territories. We have the authority of the Emperor of Ruſſia, the public and repeated menaces of Bonaparte, and our own experience, to convince us, that neither threats nor promiſes would induce him to depart from it. If, however, Bonaparte ſhould ceaſe to reſpect his neutrality, and ſeize upon Holſtein, what means of defence had the Crown Prince left, excepting his fleet, of which we demanded the ſurrender? Without it, indeed, his capital, with the reſt of his dominions, muſt have fallen a prey. That fleet was conſtructed at an immenſe expenſe, and conſtructed for the ſecurity of Denmark. Never was that ſecurity more imminently endangered; and, at that very criſis, it is demanded, in depoſite, to add to the ſecurity of Great Britain,—although the immediate conqueſt of Holſtein, and, according to his Majeſty's declaration of the 25th of September, the ſeizure of Zealand by the French, muſt have been the inevitable conſequences.

It appears to us, that every tranſaction, nearly or remotely connected

nected with the Daniſh expedition, partakes of its character. In the declaration promulgated by miniſters on the 25th September, his Majeſty declares, 'that he is not deſirous, from any motive 'but the ſecurity of his own dominions, or for any object of ad-'vantage or aggrandizement, to carry meaſures of hoſtility beyond 'the limits of the neceſſity which produced them.' This declaration correſponds entirely with the magnanimous diſpoſition of the Sovereign; and it certainly was the duty of miniſters to have acted in conformity to it. But if that neceſſity demanded that the Daniſh fleet ſhould be removed out of the reach of Bonaparte, it would have been at leaſt natural to have declared openly our intention to reſtore them when the danger was at an end. Inſtead, however, of being kept in depoſite for that purpoſe, they are added to the Britiſh navy. Above all, what plea of ſtate-neceſſity, what law of ſelf-preſervation, could call for the ſeizure and confiſcation of three hundred and twenty merchant veſſels, which, in the unſuſpecting confidence of neutrality, were found in our ports immediately previous to the commencement of hoſtilities? Of theſe veſſels, many had been wrongfully brought in, and had been decreed by our courts to be reſtored. Yet, although we might have animadverted on this meaſure on another occaſion, we are ſenſible of its propriety on the preſent; and are perfectly ready to admit the harmonious compoſition of the whole tranſaction, of which no incidental deviation into magnanimity diſturbs the conſiſtency, or injures the general effect.

In the perſon of Bonaparte, the ſucceſs of unprincipled power is ſtrongly exemplified. Yet we are far from meaſuring the amount of that power by the extent of the ſuperficies over which his authority is felt. The minds of men are not bowed to the yoke. The elements of reſiſtance are not extinguiſhed. From the loſs of civil occupations, a military ſpirit is faſt ſpreading itſelf over the Continent; and, in the very cloud which blackens all our horizon, we may ſee the bow which is ſet for a token, that the tempeſt will not be for ever. Whether this generation will live to ſee the troubled waters ſubſide, and the antient landmarks of the world reappear above the flood, is indeed more difficult to conjecture. But, whatever be the deſtined means of our deliverance, we think we may ſay with certainty, that it will not be accompliſhed by a coalition of Sovereigns: and that, if England is to have the ſhare ſhe might once have expected in this great redemption, it muſt be by reverting to her antient maxims,—by exhibiting a contraſt, and not a counterpart, to the violence and ſelfiſhneſs of her enemy,—and by expiating the fatal and degrading error of which we have been ſpeaking, by ſome ſignal act of generoſity and forbearance.

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